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ABSTRACT

Twenty-seven papers relating to rural sociology which were presented at the 1970 annual meeting of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers are compiled in this volume. Areas emphasized are the educational and occupational aspirations of rural youth, community development and regional planning, and the racial composition and characteristics of the agricultural labor force. A copy of the program of the rural sociology section of that meeting is included. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (JH)

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PROCEEDINGS

Rural Sociology Section

ASSOCIATION OF
SOUTHERN
AGRICULTURAL
WORKERS
1970

Annual Meeting, Memphis, Tennessee

February 2-4, 1970

Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology
Agricultural Experiment Station
Auburn University E. V. Smith, Director

RC004522

FORWARD

Copies of all papers presented at the Rural Sociology Section of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers held in Memphis, Tennessee, February 2-4, 1970, are included in this volume. Papers are presented in the order in which they appeared on the program. Abstracts of these papers are published in the official Proceedings of the Association.

The officers of the Rural Sociology Section wish to express their appreciation to the many sociologists who participated in this years meeting by volunteering papers, chairing sessions, and serving on panels. Each author of a paper provided copies of his paper to the Section Secretary in order to make this volume possible.

Special appreciation is extended the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Agricultural Experiment Station, Auburn University for compiling, binding, and distributing this Proceedings.

John E. Dunkelberger, Secretary
Rural Sociology Section

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RURAL SOCIOLOGY AS PERCEIVED BY PROFESSIONAL AGRICULTURISTS

Ben E. Dickerson and Harold M. Clements, Sr.[1]

Introduction

It is the purpose of the authors of this paper to present a few of the highlights of a study of Rural Sociology as that discipline is perceived by a selected group of professional workers in the field of agriculture.[2]

As a discipline grows and matures, it increasingly becomes important that its members evaluate their progress and make such changes as are deemed necessary to insure the future success of their endeavors. In the course of its development, Rural Sociology has had many of its researchers accept this task of self-evaluation. Several of these whose efforts readily come to mind should be cited.

More than twenty years ago, T. Lynn Smith suggested needed areas of emphasis: (1) attention to scientific study rather than interest in social reform, (2) systematization of tested hypotheses into a consistent body of social theory, and (3) the development of world-area studies.[3] Several years later Otis Duncan discussed problems of rural sociological research, emphasizing neglected areas as well as new subject matter for the future.[4] In 1958, the rural sociology committee headed by Jehlik surveyed the discipline's research conducted in both public and private institutions of higher learning in the United States. The conclusion of the committee was that important contributions in research were being made.[5] During the sixties, a systematic appraisal of the adequacy of rural sociological research from 1936 to 1965 was made by Sewell. He concluded that the last decade had witnessed significant improvements.[6] Even more recently Bertrand emphasized the bright future of rural sociology, provided consideration is given to (1) basic research, (2) applied research, and (3) the perspective from which to launch sociological investigation.[7]

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[1] Assistant and Associate Professors, respectively, Department of Sociology, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, Texas.

[2] Since this paper is based on data from a study currently underway, a more detailed report will not be available until a later date.

[3] T. Lynn Smith, "Needed Emphasis in Southern Sociology," Rural Sociology, 27 (December, 1948), pp. 153-57.

[4] Otis D. Duncan, "Rural Sociology Coming of Age," Rural Sociology, 19 (March, 1954), pp. 1-12.

[5] "Report of the Research Committee," Rural Sociology, 24 (March, 1959), pp. 101-06.

[6] William Sewell, "Rural Sociological Research: 1936-1965," Rural Sociology, 24 (December, 1965), pp. 428-51.

From periodic introspections such as these, it appears that in general and with few exceptions rural sociologists have been encouraged by their progress in research and are optimistic about the future. From their own observations, from discussions with other sociologists, and from reviews of journal articles, the authors of this paper believe that the prognosis provided above is essentially correct. It seems to them, however, not only appropriate but highly important to check such conclusions against the opinions of knowledgeable persons outside the discipline, especially against those of people who so often are very instrumental in providing rural sociologists with the opportunities, facilities, and funds for conducting research.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to assess the importance of rural sociology and of its research contributions as perceived by selected professional agriculturists. Specifically, the objectives of the study are to attempt to arrive at a consensus of agricultural specialists on (1) the importance of rural sociology as a field of study in the college of agriculture, (2) the precise role of the rural sociologist and (3) the areas of research where the rural sociologist has made his greatest contribution, (4) what other areas of research he should emphasize, and (5) how rural sociological research compares with other agricultural research.

Methodology

The procedures and devices employed in this study are those conventionally used by persons working in the field of sociology. Essentially, the procedures called for the implementation of three major steps: (1) the selection of a sample of professional agriculturists, (2) the construction of a set of predetermined questions designed to elicit the necessary information regarding the objectives of the data, and (3) analysis.

As may be inferred from the statement of the purpose of the study, a previously devised frame of reference was of basic importance in gathering the data. The nature of the investigation and the data utilized made it quite unnecessary to resort to the use of complicated statistical techniques. In fact, the data relevant to the various aspects of the analysis has been used for the discussion of the results.

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[7] Alvin L. Bertrand, "Some Reflections on Needed Research in Rural Sociology," Proceedings, Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, 1969.

Data for the study were obtained from a quota sample. While emphasis was placed upon contacting professional agriculturists in the state of Texas, some consideration was given to those in the remaining states. At this point in the study, a total of 329 questionnaires (consisting of 23 items) have been sent to deans of colleges of agriculture and directors of experiment stations and extension services, as well as to specialists, county agents, teachers, and farm editors of radio, television, and newspaper communications media. Approximately 55 per cent (184) of the selected agriculturists -- a number fairly representative of the occupational roles indicated above -- have returned their questionnaires to date. The highest degree attained by the majority of the respondents (61.6 per cent) was the bachelor's, with the master's degree next in importance proportionally (24 per cent) and the Ph.D. degree third (9.2 per cent). Twelve of the respondents (5.2 per cent), however, failed to specify the extent of their educational attainment. Of all those who have returned questionnaires thus far, about seven out of every ten have had a course in rural sociology at one time or another.

Since, as stated earlier, the purpose of the study, essentially, is to determine whether or not -- in the opinion of selected persons outside the discipline -- rural sociologists have correctly evaluated the contribution of their studies and research to the activities of the professional agricultural worker, an attempt has been made to present the results of the investigation as simply and effectively as possible. This is done by posing a series of relevant questions, relating and conforming roughly to the sequence of items comprising the questionnaire, and answering each in turn by means of tabular analysis of pertinent data elicited by those items.

Findings

1. IS RURAL SOCIOLOGY AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE?

The response to this question was overwhelmingly positive, with over 88 per cent of those contacted agreeing on the importance of rural sociology in institutions of higher learning. It was observed, however, that those in administration and in the "other" category (persons in agriculturally-oriented activities other than administration and extension) tended to subscribe to that opinion in larger proportions than did those engaged in extension work (94.1 and 91.7 per cent as opposed to 87.0 per cent).

2. WHAT DO RURAL SOCIOLOGISTS DO?

It was apparent, from the variety of responses as well as from the large proportion (39.7 per cent) of agriculturists who failed to answer this question, that considerable confusion exists about the work in which rural sociologists are engaged. Somewhat more than two-fifths (42.3 per cent) of those responding to the question felt that the sociologists' main task was that of education and research in the area of human behavior.

Approximately one-third (32.4 per cent) defined their role as one of human relations, that is, that of motivating and inspiring people to achieve a better life by getting along with their fellow men. The answer of community development was given to this role question by about 19 per cent of the respondents. While four simply admitted that they did not know, it was gratifying to the authors to find that only three respondents felt that rural sociologists do little or nothing. One is compelled to admit that there is little agreement among professional agricultural workers as to the role or roles of rural sociologists.

3. HAVE YOU READ ANY RESEARCH PUBLISHED BY RURAL SOCIOLOGISTS?

From the responses elicited by this question it appears that the majority of professional agriculturists do avail themselves of rural sociological research publications. More than four out of five stated that they had read such reports, and only one in ten denied doing so.

It seems, in addition, that administrators are somewhat more inclined than are extension personnel to at least acquaint themselves with the findings of rural sociological investigators (85.3 vs. 81.9 per cent, respectively). Only two-thirds of the persons classified as "others," however, admit reading such professional literature. This, together with their rather high proportion of "no response," is particularly surprising when one reflects that most persons in this category are employed in the news media and usually charged with reporting information, frequently of a technical nature, to a highly specialized segment of the population.

4. WHAT AREAS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH HAVE YOU AS AN AGRICULTURIST READ?

Of all research areas, that dealing with community resource development appears to have the largest reading audience (81.0 per cent) among agriculturists. The second most read research is in the area of cooperative extension (67.9 per cent), whereas that least frequently noted and obviously least read seems to be organizational analysis.

In spite of many instances of close agreement, choice of research material tends to vary according to the occupational role of the respondent. For example, larger proportions of administrators than extension workers indicate interest in such areas as communication and diffusion of innovations, organizational analysis, and health and medical services in rural areas. On the other hand, larger proportions of extension personnel than persons in administration show preferences for community resource development, technological change, educational and occupational behavior, rural poverty, and of course, cooperative extension. The majority of respondents in the "other" category showed primary interest in the area of community resource development.

5. IF YOU HAVE READ ANY RESEARCH PUBLISHED BY RURAL SOCIOLOGISTS, HOW WOULD YOU EVALUATE IT?

As indicated previously, more than four-fifths of the respondents acknowledged some familiarity with rural sociological research reports. Computations of the data further revealed that these publications were considered "very good" by almost three out of every ten readers, "good" by more than two of every five, and "average" by only one in four. Although one in every ten respondents admitted inability to properly judge their worth, none of this fairly sizable group, having no significant ties to the discipline of rural sociology, looked upon such research reports as "poor."

Some differences of opinion were found when the respondents were divided into occupational categories. Although only one among every ten administrators considered the reports "very good," appreciably more than three among every ten extension people were of that opinion. On the other hand, the proportions of members of the same two groups who labeled the research publications "good" differed by little more than two percentage points (41.4 and 38.9 per cent, respectively). Of those in other agriculturally-oriented activities, almost two-thirds (62.5 per cent) termed rural sociological research "good," as did (as noted above) the larger proportions of those making up the other two groups of respondents.

6. DOES RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH COMPARE FAVORABLY WITH OTHER RESEARCH IN AGRICULTURE?

Of the respondents in this study, more agriculturists (65.3 per cent) than not agreed that rural sociological research does indeed compare favorably with other agricultural research. While extension personnel appear to be more in agreement than the other categories of persons in professional agriculture as to how well it compares, in each case at least six out of every ten respondents felt that it does not suffer by comparison.

When respondents were queried as to the clarity of rural sociological research, it was discovered that approximately two out of every three believed that the research reports of rural sociologists are written clearly. In answering this question, however, a relatively large proportion of the respondents (20.6 per cent) either failed to provide an answer or indicated that they were undecided. Proportionally, too, the administrators were in somewhat less agreement about the clarity of the research than were the members of the other two groups.

When asked whether or not they profited from the reading of rural sociological research, the great majority of respondents (85.9 per cent) replied positively. Despite the fact that almost nine per cent either were undecided or gave no response to the question, scarcely more than five per cent felt that such research was of no particular value in their professional work.

7. WHAT RESEARCH AREAS SHOULD BE OF CONCERN TO RURAL SOCIOLOGISTS?

According to the vast majority of agriculturists returning the questionnaire (96.2 per cent), community development should be of most concern to rural sociologists. This is a reflection of the reading interest of the group as a whole, since it was the choice of the largest proportion of respondents in each occupational category in stating their preferences. Somewhat smaller proportions felt that research should have to do with rural institutions and rural poverty (91.3 and 90.2 per cent, respectively). least agreement was reached on the importance of large-scale agriculture.

While there was not complete agreement among the three occupational groups as to priority, other areas felt to be in need of rural sociological research were rural poverty, population explosion, land tenure, underdeveloped areas, housing, and recreation.

8. IN WHICH AREAS OF RESEARCH HAVE RURAL SOCIOLOGISTS MADE CONTRIBUTIONS?

Almost nine out of ten professional agriculturists returning questionnaires (89.1 per cent) recognize the contributions of rural sociologists to community development research. In addition, substantial proportions of the same group (85.3 and 83.2 per cent, respectively) agree on the importance of their research having to do with rural youth and rural institutions. Much less consensus is reached in regard to investigations of land tenure (46.7 per cent), population explosion (46.2 per cent), and large-scale agriculture (only 27.7 per cent).

When separated according to professional activity, administrators and extension personnel, although differing proportionally, tended to be in agreement. Persons in the "other" category, however, showed much less consensus. For example, both administrators and extension people tended to place greater stress on the importance of rural sociological research in the areas of community development, rural youth, and rural institutions and to show least concern with investigations of large-scale agriculture. The opinions of persons in other agriculturally-oriented activities, on the other hand, appeared to be almost equally divided as to the importance of the contributions of rural sociologists in the research areas of rural institutions, rural youth, land tenure, recreation, leisure time activities, and underdeveloped areas. Even less agreement was reached regarding such areas as urban problems, housing, and large-scale agriculture.

Conclusions and Implications

Inasmuch as there has been some doubt expressed by some rural sociologists as to the favorability of their image as researchers in the minds of persons outside the discipline, the general findings of the study should afford some measure of relief. In the great majority of cases, the respondents indicated quite clearly their recognition of the importance of rural sociological research to the "big picture" of agriculture. One perceives in their responses a strong vote of confidence given the role of rural sociology in colleges of agriculture of land grant universities, rural sociological research regarded quite favorably when compared to other research in agriculture, and rural sociological research reports considered, usually, as valuable to the activities of professional agriculturists.

Despite this generally pleasing picture, however, it is equally obvious that the research endeavors of rural sociologists are much more favorably regarded by some professional agricultural workers than by others. More consistently than the authors would like to have found to be the case, inspection of data gathered by means of the questionnaire revealed relatively large proportions of "no response" and "undecided" answers, many indications of misunderstanding of the role of rural sociologists, and definite evidences of lack of appreciation of the research efforts of these students of rural life. In attempting to account for such findings as these, the authors are inclined to attribute them, at least in some measure, to a "communication gap" for which rural sociologists largely and inadvertantly may be responsible. Such a conclusion is suggested by a marginal note penciled on one of the returned questionnaires observing that in the opinion of the respondent rural sociologists consistently have failed to advertise their wares. If this is the case, the narrowing and eventual elimination of the "communication gap" should be of primary concern to all involved in the field of rural sociology.

In attempting to give expression to a few of the implications that might be drawn from the study, the more obvious seem to be the following:

1. The rural sociologist should give more consideration to the nature of the audience that might be interested in reviewing and utilizing his research. From the responses, it appears that many of the agriculturists desired information probably best supplied by rural sociologists. For this reason alone it behooves the rural sociologist to consider more carefully the question of where and by whom his research findings might best be utilized.

2. Greater emphasis should be placed on the rural sociologist's ability to contribute to the understanding of the various social aspects of agricultural phenomena, e.g., large-scale agriculture, urban problems insofar as they affect rural life, and so on. From the study it appears that relatively few professional agriculturists are aware of, or concerned about, problems in such areas.

3. A more conscientious and consistent effort should be made by the Rural Sociological Society to clarify the role of rural sociologists. The authors strongly believe that, as the role of the rural sociologist comes to be more sharply defined by our colleagues in agriculture, opportunities for rural sociological contributions to that field will increase steadily. It should be recalled that it was only by more clearly defining his role and demonstrating the value of his contributions to agriculture that the economist was able to gain acceptance by agricultural specialists.

4. Finally, greater attention should be given to the sociological orientation of agricultural students taking courses in rural sociology, since the study seems to indicate that such classes have not been utilized as well as they might. It would be difficult, indeed, for a rural sociologist to imagine a better opportunity than that provided in the classroom to inform the future professional worker about the offerings of rural sociology.

It occurs to the authors that one way to implement the rural sociological orientation of the agricultural student would be to emphasize to a greater extent than possibly has been the case the research and related activities of rural sociologists. This might be done by relying less on the text and making greater use of such supplementary materials as AES bulletins, journal articles, governmental studies, relative international involvement studies, and the like. All of these clearly demonstrate the many contributions of rural sociologists to agricultural development and should elicit greater appreciation of the efforts of rural sociologists and result in closer cooperation between two groups whose members have much in common.

DEVELOPING A PROGRAM FOR SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS FUNCTIONING AT OR BELOW THE EIGHTH GRADE LEVEL

G. W. Taylor, T. J. Pinnock & O. W. Robinson
Tuskegee Institute

A. Introduction

The Seasonally Employed Agricultural Workers Program is a joint attempt on the part of Tuskegee Institute and the Office of Economic Opportunity to provide basic adult education for the functional illiterates.

Basically, adult education for the functional illiterate, like all education has two jobs to do:

1. To meet personal, social, vocational and educational needs of its participants.

2. To reveal new ideas, to encourage creative approaches, and to broaden views by exploring new and unfamiliar areas.

Since the Seasonally Employed Agricultural Workers (SEAW) Program began at Tuskegee Institute three years ago, we have seen the vicious cycle of poverty which exists in the lives of the participants. Those in whose lives this cycle of poverty prevails are characterized by ill health, hunger, unstable family life, dilapidated houses, low income, limited access to education and information. Still worse are the attitudes of apathy, hopelessness and self-depreciation. These characteristics, we feel, exist not because the participants are satisfied with their present predicament, but because the lack of successful experiences has conditioned them to failure. Thus, the cruel legacy of poverty is passed to succeeding generations.

The above mentioned characteristics were very much in evidence in the lives of the participants in the SEAW Program. The apathetic situation is due, at least in part, to the fact that two years ago sixty percent of the participants had an annual income of $1,000 or less. The questionnaire showed that only eight percent of the program's participants had a family size of one; forty-three percent, 2 to 5; twenty-seven percent, 6 to 8; seventeen percent, 9 to 11; and five percent, 12 and over.

Additional information pertaining to the type of work done was given. It was found that nine percent of the participants were sharecroppers, twenty-one percent were homeowners, thirty-six percent were farm renters and thirty-four percent were farm laborers. Many of the participants classified as renters were in reality farm laborers, since they rented a house and did not make use of the land. They worked by the day from farm to farm and did other menial jobs. The wages paid for farm work ranged from $2.00 to $5.00 per day. The working hours were from 6:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. or later.

The majority of the participants lived on plantations. They lived in two to four room dilapidated houses, with poor lighting and heating facilities and almost no privies. The participants received ultra-minimum wages for their labor which could not sustain their large families. They usually purchased food and other necessary items from their landlord, who owned a general store for this purpose and charged exorbitant prices. Out of necessity they borrowed money from the landlord when illness and unforseen situations arose.

For the most part, in order to operate a farm, whether the family was a sharecropper, renter or farm laborer, it was necessary for the participant to depend upon the land owner or the merchants in a local community for subsistence. They never had enough money from one season to another to support their families. With this being true during the harvest season, the money earned was used to pay old debts and each year the cycle started over again. Each year they were further in debt than the year before. They still had to borrow money and buy food on credit to survive.

The poor are people who are surrounded by immense difficulties. Poverty has countless faces and we will not understand the poor by putting a few standardized mask on them. Each instance of poverty has a personality of its own.

B. Objectives

The objectives of the Seasonally Employed Agricultural Workers Program, sponsored by Tuskegee Institute, under the auspices of the Office of Economic Opportunity, were to provide basic and prevocational education for a sample of 1,239 functional illiterates in seven Alabama Counties. Basic education as envisioned by Tuskegee Institute involves more than reading, writing and arithmetic. It involves an intensive motivational program which gives people new hope, new energies, and an almost completely new set of goals. Additionally, it provides for self-realization and a determined effort on the part of the participants to lift themselves up by their own effort, it destroys dependency and develops independency. It must never be overlooked that the population with which this program was concerned was originally the product of a semi-feudal system, the major product of which was, and still is to a large extent, illiteracy and poverty. It is within this frame of reference that this paper is given, and it is within this frame of reference that determined men and women of good will set forth upon the task of effecting social and economic changes within the boundaries of our democratic society.

For all practical purposes and intent, an effective basic adult education program should, among other things, manifest itself in the things that people do differently. In order to evaluate the sociological and economical impact, a survey of the 1,239 participants was conducted by the staff at the beginning and at the conclusion of the program.

C. Accomplishments

The collected data and a brief description of it as well as the raw figures present in tabular form, should give the listener a partial idea of what has been accomplished during the period of this program.

Picture in your mind the home of a Bullock County family. This family was poor, but more illiterate than poor.

As it turned out, this family, in addition to everything else, needed help and guidance in the wise use of money. After being counseled and given intensive instruction in money management and sources of home financing, the family constructed a house.

The problem here was that the head of the household had little or no confidence in himself, he doubted his own ability to move forward and he knew less about how to go about getting a house financed. With continued education this house will provide a new environment for the family and the children will undoubtedly have an opportunity to grow up outside the once hopeless walls of deprivation.

The concerns and/or problems of seasonal farmers are more varied than the colors of the rainbow. Depict a seasonal farmer whose major concern was how to augment his already very meager income.

This farmer, whose family was relatively large, accepted the advice of the teacher-counselor and planted about five acres of cucumbers. As a result this farmer has harvested his cucumbers, and his wife accompanied him to Prattville, Alabama to have his cucumbers graded and sold. Unlike what many sociologists believe, small farmers do not necessarily want to leave their environment, they want to stay in their own setting and be given an opportunity to make a decent living. The educational system in the South has not been as effective in the past as it should be, therefore, adults have to be given continuous assistance in identifying alternatives and consequences. Poverty and deprivation among seasonal farmers in Alabama is not altogether a function of lack of education and money. It is also the product of a social system which displays little or no interest in the small illiterate farmers.

A reorganization and reorientation towards farming and marketing can offset much of the frustrations with which small farmers are confronted. Why plant cotton when okra, beans, cucumbers or any other truck crops can, and do, make more money per acre? The reason is that small farmers are encouraged by the system to plant crops which make money for the fertilizer companies and the cotton dealers. An educational program such as the one conducted at Tuskegee Institute does help farmers to determine alternatives and consequences, and does help them to break away from a system which is designed to exploit them and keep them in debt.

As mentioned earleir, the problems of illiterate seasonal farmers are complex and varied and any meaningful adult education program must address itself to all the problems, not just some of the problems. In Alabama, as in many other states, the poor and illiterate farmer is always having a multiplicity of health problems. Depict a teacher working with her class on some essential food groups.

Trainees that were enrolled in the program were exposed to training in preparing a balanced daily diet. Additionally, they were given intensive training in food planning and purchasing. This phase of the program was never a very easy task. Families of 10-15 with an average income of $30 to $50 per week makes it more than a little difficult to help them plan and prepare meals in which they are likely to get the minimum daily requirements. Many families in the seven counties in which the program operated never had a physical examination in their lives. Many of their children have never seen a doctor even though the evidence seems overwhelming that these families needed medical attention. Table I indicates the progress made in helping people to improve their health and to destroy as much as possible the health hazards that were rampant in the rural communities:

TABLE I. CHANGES IN HEALTH AND SANITATION FACILITIES OF A SAMPLE OF POOR RURAL FARM FAMILIES IN SEVEN COUNTIES IN ALABAMA

	Status Before	Status After	Net Change
Doctors:			
family	772	1,419	649
dentist	461	909	448
optometrist	359	719	360
Water Supply:			
running water in homes	109	212	103
electric pump	110	283	175
Improper Disposal	238	62	.176
Privies:			
pit	583	1,004	421
septic	66	120	60

As can be observed from the figures in Table I, many more families than actually participated in the classrooms were counseled and assisted by the staff. For example, 772 families had a family doctor at the beginning of the program and at its conclusion, 1,419 families had family doctors. There are actually thousands of families in the seven county area that needed medical help and there are just as many that knew nothing about medicare before the professional staff of this project went in to work with them.

Middle class and upper class families and some bureaucrats who were born in plenty and are currently encircled in the lavishness of their wealth give lip-service to poverty and the deprivation, but the fact is, they cannot emphathize and the problems of the poor are open to them. Up to date, sanitary conveniences, three meals per day and a comfortable bed in which to sleep is just one of the never ending dreams of the poor. In Table I, mention was made of privies, running water, improper disposal and so forth. These are some serious concerns of the poor and they do need help and guidance. These types of conditions do not only endanger the health of the individuals involved but the health of the entire community.

The writer observed a very dilapidated privy change to a standardized privy with bath facilities for the entire family. Practically all of the material used to construct his new sanitary convenience was old material salvaged from his broken down privy. His source of water supply was almost as bad as his sanitary conveniences, but that too was improved with a bored well and an electric pump. The change from actually drawing water by hand from a well to an electric pump means that this man for the first time in his life could have running water in his house. This seems not too significant to the affluent men and women of society, but this is a very great and significant step for a man whose children were growing up without knowing how it feels to have a shower.

It is generally assumed that city slums are the worst kind of slums, but this is not necessarily true. Beyond the fact that city slums are crowded, rural slums are equally as defeating to the residents.

Rural slums, as depicted in the seven counties is very common in Alabama. It is little wonder that the infant death rate in Alabama and other Deep South states is so high. It should be of no surprise to the nation why these people migrate to the large cities unequipped to cope with urban life. For the first time in their life they see a concerted effort being made by their national government to help a relatively small sample of them, and while many have received some new hope and have benefited materially, there are thousands yet to be reached and rescued from what may be called the "human" waste basket. The "Powers that exist" failed to recognize that urban poverty had its birth in rural America, they have failed to recognize that a rural society system which produces illiteracy and poverty is not only a drain on the national economy but this ultra-conservative system is also producing the fuse, which when ignited in an urban setting, produces a national dilema. Many families that would have left the seven county area in Alabama have stayed just as a result of the educational program which provided them with a glimmer of hope. Less than 5 percent of the participants receiving stipends in the program have left, and all can point to something concrete that they themselves have done or received some help in doing.

Picture in your mind a family with seven children and a husbandless mother. She is the head of the household and the sole breadwinner for those children. Headstart has not reached down that far to those children and to them, the "powers that exist" in the counties involved couldn't care less. As hopeless as this may appear to be, there is an abundance of evidence which supports the investments that are being made in rescuing those human beings. The process in many instances is a long and complicated one but as of this point and time there is no doubt that education and training is the most likely vehicle through which concrete changes will be established.

The trainees entered the new learning situation with a wide range of experiences. These experiences, some quite challenging to the teachers, provided in large part a starting point for the teachers. For many of the trainees, it had been 30 years or more since they were in a classroom and for many there was little or no relationship between their professed grade level and the actual grade at which they were functioning. Table II indicates their professed grade level and their level of functioning at the begining and at the conclusion of the seven months teaching phase of the program.

TABLE II. PROFESSED GRADE LEVEL AND
GRADE EQUIVALENCE OF 1,122 PARTICIPANTS

Grade Attainment	Professed Grade Level	Percent	Grade Equiv on 1st Test	Percent	Grade Equiv on 2nd Test	Percent
0-1	95	8.03	313	7.91	79	7.03
2	59	5.41	171	15.24	95	8.46
3	118	10.04	170	15.15	157	13.99
4	136	11.32	191	17.04	264	23.57
5	140	11.65	125	11.14	187	16.66
6	241	20.81	82	7.30	159	14.17
7	195	16.13	46	4.09	114	10.16
8	143	11.82	24	2.13	52	4.63
9	53	4.39	0		9	0.80
10	3	0.24	0		6	0.53
11	1	.08	0			
12	1	.08	0			
	*1,185	100.00	1,112	100.00	1,122	100.00

*Sixty-three participants failed to take both tests.

It may be observed from Table II that 95 of the 1,122 participants indicated that they either had never been to school or had completed the first grade. When the entire group of 1,122 participants were tested with the Gray Oral Reading Test for the first time, then it was found that 313 of them had either never attended school or if they had then they were not functioning in reading beyond the first grade level. After six months of classroom instruction they were given a second test and at that time (313-79) 134 of them had moved up from the first grade. For all practical purposes and intent, only 79 of the 1,122 participants did not show some academic improvement as a result of their exposure to classroom instruction.

Table III indicates the changes made in grade equivalents by the females who took both tests.

TABLE III. COMPARISON OF FIRST AND SECOND TESTS GRADE EQUIVALENTS OF FEMALE PARTICIPANTS

First Test Grade Equivalents		0-1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	TOTAL
No.		235	131	142	164	106	75	44	23	
Second	0-1	69	0							69
Test	2	65	4							69
Grade	3	59	38	13	8					118
Equiva-	4	40	63	62	35	4				204
lents	5	2	22	47	58	24	4			157
	6		3	15	46	49	20	5		138
	7		1	5	17	25	37	17		102
	8					4	14	22	8	48
	9								9	9
	10								6	6
TOTAL		235	131	142	164	106	75	44	23	920

It may be observed from Table II that when the first test was administered (235+131+142+164+106) 778 of the 920 female participants were reading at the 5th grade or below, after six months of instruction (69+69+118+204+157) 617 were still in that category which indicates that only (778-617) 161 had moved out of that category.

Examining the table, it will be further observed that 209 of the 920 female participants either retrogressed or showed no improvement in grade equivalents that could be measured by current academic standards. Of the 235 females who were functioning at the first grade or below only 69 remained in that category; as a matter of fact, 42 had progressed to the fourth grade or above.

Table IV indicates the changes made in grade equivalents by the males who took both tests.

TABLE IV. COMPARISON OF FIRST AND SECOND TEST GRADE EQUIVALENTS OF MALE PARTICIPANTS

First Test Grade Equivalents		0-1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	TOTAL
No.		78	40	28	27	19	6	2	1	
2nd Test Grade Equivalents	0-1	10								10
	2	23	3							26
	3	27	9	3						39
	4	17	16	17	10					60
	5	1	6	7	13	3				30
	6		6	1	2	10	2			21
	7				2	5	4	1		12
	8					1	1	1	1	4
		78	40	28	27	19	7	2	1	202

Of the 202 males, 23 failed to show any improvement in terms of grade equivalents, percentage-wise this is 16% as compared to 23% of the female participants. Only 10 of the 202 males were still at the first grade level or below after the six months of classroom instruction, and (202-33) 169 had shown some academic improvement.

As mentioned earlier or, basic education in this setting involves more than reading, writing and arithmetic, in the circumstances, even those who show little or no academic improvement may have been helped tremendously in other ways. For example, of the 1,122 trainees, 425 could vote when they entered the program, at the conclusion of the program an additional 528 were registered to vote which indicates that of the 1,122 trainees, 1,013 were registered to vote at the conclusion of the program.

A much more significant accomplishment in this area is that these 1,013 registered voters in the seven county area influenced an additional 4,830 citizens to become registered voters.

All of the trainees did something concrete to improve their living conditions, even though they had to be given voluntary assistance from their neighbors and other class participants, they all made a desperate effort to help themselves. The woman in Alabama is undoubtedly the head of the household and this is true even where there is a living husband or adult living in the house. She makes most of the decisions and gives direction to the family, she plans her children's destiny in a social system that is beastly hostile to the Negro male and in fact, she has exemplified maybe the one and only method of survival in an environment that defies all social institutions designed to bring about socio-economic progress.

Miss "M" lived in a dilapidated house when the adult education program started. She, like many other females, had no husband and she, like many of the others showed little or no academic improvement but she showed a rare kind of resilience and determination. She is now in the process of completing a new house.

The program is over and Miss "M" is getting no more stipends and one wonders if whe will ever finish her home. There is no doubt that she will. She has a stake in her community and an interest in people, many of whom are worse off than she. Still more important, she has been motivated and she has the will to do.

The teachers and county coordinators spend endless hours trying to move people out of the cycle of poverty. They developed a comprehensive referral scheme where they referred individuals to every federal and state agency that they "know" could offer some service to the poor. To date it is questionable if the referral program was as effective in this social system as it could have been. A desperate effort was made by all concerned to get as many of the participants into MDTA training, jobs, vocational schools, and etc. Table V indicates what has been accomplished in this direction.

TABLE V. RESULTS OF REFERRALS MADE TO A SELECTED NUMBER OF OTHER AGENCIES

	STATUS BEFORE	STATUS AFTER	NET CHANGE
Number applied to trade schools	1	58	57
Number accepted into MDTA	0	48	48
Number of job transfers	0	55	55
Number accepted in jobs	0	195	195
Number receiving Social Security	300	905	605

Within the seven county area, only one youth had applied to the state trade schools, as a result of a teacher's effort 57 additional youths have applied and have been accepted. At the beginning of the program none of the trainees had applied for MDTA training, at the conclusion 48 have been trained and are currently employed.

There is little or no doubt that there is great hope for people who have been motivated to help themselves. The pattern this program follows is a unique one -- motivation, basic education, vocational training, job placement where possible, and fianlly, the development of self and independence. It is not and will never be an easy task with men and women who have been conditioned for over a century not to be identified.

D. Disappointments

The disappointments and frustrations encountered in this program have been many and varied. Let it be made abundantly clear, however, that except for the fact that the national office (OEO) identifies seasonal and migrant farmers as one of the same and that they fail to recognize that the Negro female, particularly in the South, is the head of the household they have given us every cooperation in helping to make this program succeed.

The major disappointments revolve around people, not money to operate the program. The local power structure in most of the seven counties did not cooperate as one would expect. In one county a classroom was burned, in another a house was bombed and in nearly every community teachers and participants were subjected to some intimidation from extremist groups. Caucasian participants were in some instances harassed even worst than Negro participants. The one common denominator was that all the harassment was done by Caucasians. It is the judgment of the writers that the local power structures could have done more to curb the violaters of individual freedom. Maybe they could not.

The federal and state agencies to which participants were referred failed in a number of instances to even keep appointments or interview the persons that were referred -- much more to offer them assistance. There has been one instance where a federal agent even refused to give the location of his office because he did not want to be bothered by the participants. To say the least, it has been a struggle to get the services for the poor that have been provided by both the federal and state agencies.

Finally, there are still thousands of citizens who need help in the respective communities but the program was not designed to accomodate but so much. Men and women who exhibited fear of what might happen to them if they entered the program have now gained some confidence and over two thousand (primarily men) have expressed a desire to come into any future program.

The writers recognize the difficulties involved in social change and they recognize even more that the multiplicity of ideas on how the frustrations and disappointment encountered in this program will not hamper their effort to use education as the most effective vehicle to bring about social change.

E. Some Tentative Observations and Conclusions

The program conducted by Tuskegee Institute may have meshed more with the philosophy of a group of people who do not want to move physically from their environment. It was evident from the offset that the frame of reference for the seasonally employed agricultural workers is much different from the frame of reference of the migrant farmer. In the circumstances, it was found that their goals and aspirations differ equally as much.

More often than not, the seasonal farmer owns a small farm, which might not be more than three acres, but he has a stake in his community. He wants to vote, he wants his children to go to school in the community, he wants a good house in which to live, a job which does not separate him from his family, and a host of other things. In short, he wants an opportunity to make a go of life where he was born and is currently living.

The migrant farmer is nomadic in his propensities, and naturally he has to be if he is to exist. His children, if they go to school, may attend several different schools, they have no ties, he himself is anchored no where, he has no community in which to attach himself, therefore, his immediate goals and aspirations are quite different or at least less sophisticated than those of the seasonally employed agricultural worker. If and when the migrant farmer gets a steady job and settles in an area permanently, then he is off to a good start. Getting registered to vote, getting interested in the local school board, questioning what is being done with his tax dollar, making plans to send his children to college, etc., all constitute the next step.

In the case of the seasonal farmer, this is different, he is already at the point where he has all the aspirations of the middle and upper class families, but the social system has cheated him for decades. It is this population (seasonal farmers) that the Tuskegee Institute - OEO project was concerned with. This population recognizes very well that getting a job away from their respective communities will not necessarily solve their problems. These women and men that are still remaining in the South are those who quite correctly see no future in migrating to the big cities to join the ranks of the unemployed. The rural South holds a brighter future for them and this OEO should recognize. Additionally, OEO should also recognize that urban problems had its birth in rural America and primarily in the rural South. The choice should be made now whether to treat the problem at the source of its origin or wait until it has moved to Detroit, New York, Watts or wherever it may be.

Teaching adults is probably one of the most fascinating jobs for those who love to teach, but the selection of teachers of adults is probably more fascinating. The evidence at this point is inconclusive, but it would appear that the most qualified and experienced teachers in a college, high school or elementary school setting, when requested to teach adults, do

THE SELECTION AND PERCEPTIVE ABILITY OF COUNTY COUNCIL MEMBERS: FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS FROM AN ILLINOIS STUDY

Wayne H. Oberle

The objective of the 1966 study reported here is to describe council members selected by the Illinois Cooperative Extension Service and to draw implications about the potential of the council members for perceiving the problems or needs of others.[1]

Since the "role of extension is changing from one of motivating people to adopt an improved practice in agriculture or home economics to one of problem solving," council members need to be selected who have a high perceptive ability. That is, they must be willing and able to perceive and define the problems of others as perceived by the latter.[2] Unless council members perceive and define the problems of others as the latter views them, it is less likely that the county extension program will effectively meet such problems.

The sample area included all the counties in Illinois except Cook, Lee, Stark, Macon, Montgomery, and Wayne.[3] The information was obtained from 67 agricultural and 57 home economics council member interviews in six counties. In order to obtain a representation of the various regions of the state, five of the six sample counties were selected randomly from each of the five extension districts and one was randomly selected at large.

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[1] On July 1, 1956 the University of Illinois Board of Trustees authorized the Illinois extension director to appoint an agricultural and a home economics extension council in each county. The councils were to be composed of individuals interested in extension activities. Their purpose was to give local guidance and direction to county extension programs. Among other things, these programs were designated to help individuals and organizations perceive, define, and solve their own problems. For a more complete report, see Wayne H. Oberle, "A Study of the Extension Council Member in the 1966 Illinois Cooperative Extension Service: His Socio-Economic Status, Social Participation, Role Knowledge, and Attitudes," unpublished Master's thesis, University of Illinois, 1967.

[2] M. O. Watkins, "Needs and Problems in Program Development--As Viewed by an Extension Director," A Research Approach to Program Development in Cooperative Extension: Report of National Planning Conference in Program Development (University of Wisconsin: The National Agricultural Extension Center for Advanced Study, 1961).

[3] The former was excluded because it was metropolitan. The other five counties were excluded because they were pilot counties in a role orientation study.

Socio-Economic Status

Age Most council members were between 40 and 50 years of age. Although middle-aged individuals were well represented on both agricultural and home economics councils, there were only a few (7.3 per cent) council members under 30 or 65 and older (Table 1).[4,5]

Education Most council members had at least graduated from high school. Only 16.5 percent of agricultural members and 26.3 percent of home economics members had not completed high school (Table 2). Comparisons with data from a 1962 study of Illinois council members suggest that the educational profiles of the two were very similar and indicate little or no change. Only 10.5 of the 1966 sample had not been educated beyond the eighth grade, 50.7 percent were high school graduates or had some high school, and 38.8 percent had some education beyond high school. The corresponding percentages for the 1962 study were 12, 55, and 32, respectively.

Occupation When the council members were categorized by occupation, it was found that most were farmers or farm wives. Ninety-five percent of agricultural council members were farmers, and 56.1 percent of home economics council members were farm wives (Table 3).

Farm Size Of the 75.8 percent of the members who were farmers or farm wives, some had larger farms and others had smaller ones (Table 4).

Farm Tenure Farm tenure differences between agricultural and home economic members were pronounced. Specifically, agricultural councils lacked a proportional amount of nonfarmers and home economics councils lacked a proportional amount of nonowners in their respective memberships (Table 5).

Net Income Agricultural and home economics council members were also similar in that few members had low incomes--fewer home economics members than agricultural members. They were dissimilar in the sense that the latter had substantially more (24.5 percent to 11.9 percent) members with incomes of $10,000 or more.

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[4] Although more or less proportional council membership may not mean the solution of the problems of a given stratum of the local population, it at least may be viewed as an objective indicator of which segments of the local population have someone on the council who is likely able to perceive their problems as they do.

[5] U. S. Bureau of Census, County and City Data Book, 1962 (A Statistical Abstract Supplement). (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962), pp. 92, 102, showed that the median age of the Illinois population in 1960 was 31.

The respective percentages of council members in the \$0-\$4,999, \$5,000-\$9,999, and \$10,000 or more categories were 28.0, 53.7, and 18.3 (Table 6). Based on the premise that the median gross income (\$6,566) of Illinois residents in 1960, these percentages suggest a predominately middle-to-upper income membership on the county councils.[6] Inasmuch as there were only a few (4.5 percent and 7.0 percent) agricultural or home economics council members netting less than \$3,000 per year, the councils might have little or no ability to accurately perceive the problems of others with low incomes.

Local and County Residence Differences between agricultural and home economics council members in terms of local and county residence were very slight. Virtually all (over 90 percent and 98 percent) of the respondents had resided in the locality and the county, respectively, at least 10 years (Table 7). Moreover, the vast majority (72.1 percent and 86.6 percent) had resided in the locality and the county, respectively, for 20 years or more. On the basis of the length of local or county residence, one would expect that many, if not most, of the council members might lack the ability to accurately perceive the "all-too-obvious" problems of various individuals, particularly those not well integrated through traditional local structures.

Social Participation

An indication of the integration of council members through traditional local structures was provided by an index of social participation. Social participation was measured by asking each respondent if he had (a) belonged to, (b) regularly attended (2/3 of meetings), (c) financially supported, or (d) served as a committee member, committee chairman or as an officer for any organization within the past calendar year. A total participation score was computed for each respondent on the basis of three points for being an officer or a committee chairman and one point for each of the other types of participation.

Findings indicated only slight differences in the social participation of agricultural and home economics council members (Table 8). The mean participation scores of the former and the latter (43.1 and 42.1, respectively) were not only fairly high but highly similar.

Social Participation and Socio-Economic Status

Since the range of social participation scores (6 through 140) was so wide, the writer expected that a dichotomization of the scores on either side of the mean (42.6) would facilitate an examination of the relationship between social participation and the socio-economic status variables. Accordingly, one group consisted of 62 respondents who had a score between 6 and 42. The other group included 62 respondents who had scores between 43 and 140.

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[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 103.

Chi-square analysis between the scores and each of the eight socio-economic status variables showed (1) a strong but statistically insignificant relationship between farm size and net income, respectively and total participation and (2) a statistically significant relationship (at the .05 level) between educational attainment and total participation. Clearly, more educated council members participated significantly more than did their less educated counterparts. To the extent that such council members would meet other more educated individuals, the problems of less educated individuals will likely not be perceived very accurately, if at all.[7] Additional analysis showed a relationship between the member's county and his participation score (statistically significant at the .01 level). Thus, the council members from some counties participate significantly more than do the members from other counties. This suggests that the perceptive ability of council members is likely to vary more between counties than within counties.

Conclusions and Implications

Local people selected as council members generally (1) were between 40 and 50 years, (2) had at least graduated from high school, (3) were farmers or farm wives, (4) had a net income between $5,000 and $7,000, (5,6) had lived in the locality and county 20 or more years, (7) participated quite actively in various organizations, the latter indicating that the members apparently were integrated through local structures.

Findings also showed (1) that farm size and net income were positively but not significantly (in the statistical sense) related, (2) that education was positively and significantly related to social participation, (3) that the educational profile of the council members was very similar to that of a 1962 Illinois sample, and (4) that the level of social participation of the council members varied significantly from one county to another.

The concept of proportionality of membership may facilitate a discussion of the implications of these findings. The existence of a more or less proportional council membership does not guarantee that a given stratum of the local population will receive help in solving their own problems. Nevertheless, the proportionality of membership on the councils at least may be viewed as an objective indicator of which segments of the local population have someone on the council who is likely to perceive their problems as they do.

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[7] Three of the six counties had only 1 or 2 members with less than a high school education.

Viewed in this context, the above findings suggest that the younger and older, the less educated, the nonfarmer, the nonrenting farmer, the poorer, and the more recent resident have a lesser opportunity to have council members perceive their problems than do local people whose socio-economic characteristics are more congruent with those of the council members. To the extent that the well educated council members interacted with nonmembers who are well integrated through traditional local structures, the former may lack the opportunity to perceive the problems or needs of individuals who are not well integrated through traditional local structures.

Given the need for council members to be willing and able to perceive and define the problems of others as the latter views them, the relative homogeneity of socio-economic status within councils suggests a perceptive situation characterized by substantial congruency. Such perceptive congruency may not optimize (1) accurate perception of the problems of others as viewed by them or (2) a more or less continual objective evaluation of the county program and its ability to help local people solve their own problems. Such perceptive congruency within the councils may mean a less than optimal opportunity for those local people who have a disproportionate representation on the councils (see above) and who are not well integrated through traditional local structures. Thus, this study suggests that the changing nature of extension publics--to include rural nonfarm and urban--could probably be better served by each council having members with diverse backgrounds, particularly, occupational and educational. Perhaps county extension councils should have more hetereogeneous memberships.

Table 1. Agricultural and Home Economics Council Members, Distributed by Age, 1966

Age of Respondent	Agricultural		Home Economics	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
20-29	5	7.5	3	5.3
30-39	18	26.9	13	22.8
40-49	30	44.7	24	42.0
50-64	14	20.9	16	28.1
65 and over	0	0.0	1	1.8
Total	67	100.0	57	100.0

Table 2. Agricultural and Home Economics Council Members, Distributed by Years of Formal Education Completed, 1966

Years of Formal Education Completed	Agricultural Number	Agricultural Percent	Home Economics Number	Home Economics Percent
8	7	10.5	6	10.5
Some high school	4	6.0	9	15.8
12	31	46.1	19	33.4
Some college	15	22.4	17	29.8
Bachelor's	7	10.5	6	10.5
Master's	3	4.5	0	0.0
Total	67	100.0	57	100.0

Table 3. Agricultural and Home Economics Council Members, Distributed by Occupation, 1966

Occupation of Respondent	Agricultural Number	Agricultural Percent	Home Economics Number	Home Economics Percent
Farm	64	95.5	32	56.1
Nonfarm	3	4.5	25	43.9
Total	67	100.0	57	100.0

Table 4. Agricultural and Home Economics Council Members, Distributed by Farm Size, 1966

Farm Size	Agricultural		Home Economics	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 100	1	1.5	5	8.8
100-199 acres	9	13.4	9	15.8
200-299 acres	15	22.4	4	7.0
300-399 acres	14	20.9	8	14.0
400-599 acres	12	17.9	8	14.0
Over 600 acres	14	20.9	3	5.3
Does not farm	2	3.0	20	35.1
Total	67	100.0	57	100.0

Table 5. Agricultural and Home Economics Council Members, Distributed by Farm Tenure, 1966

Farm Tenure Status	Agricultural		Home Economics	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Owner	14	20.9	19	33.3
Owner-renter	33	49.2	14	24.6
Renter	17	25.4	4	7.0
Does not farm	3	4.5	20	35.1
Total	67	100.0	57	100.0

Table 6. Agricultural and Home Economics Council Members, Distributed by Annual Net Income, 1966

Annual Net Income	Agricultural		Home Economics	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than $3,000	3	4.5	4	7.0
$3,000-$4,999	17	25.4	11	19.3
$5,000-$6,999	22	32.8	14	24.6
$7,000-$9,999	17	25.4	14	24.6
$10,000 or more	8	11.9	14	24.5
Total	67	100.0	57	100.0

Table 7. Agricultural and Home Economics Council Members, Distributed by Years Lived in Locality and County, 1966

Years of Residence	Agricultural		Home Economics	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
In Locality				
Less than 5	1	1.5	3	5.3
5-9 years	4	6.0	3	5.3
10-19 years	10	14.9	13	22.8
20 or more	52	77.6	38	66.6
Total	67	100.0	57	100.0
In County				
Less than 5	0	0.0	1	1.8
5-9 years	0	0.0	1	1.8
10-19 years	5	7.5	9	15.8
20 or more	62	92.5	46	80.6
Total	67	100.0	57	100.0

Table 8. - Agricultural and Home Economics Council Members, Distributed by Type of Social Participation, 1966

Type of Social Participation	Mean Participation Score	
	Agricultural	Home Economics
	N=124	
Church	13.5	16.0
School	2.7	2.9
Political	2.4	1.7
Welfare or Charity	4.9	5.8
Service	1.5	0.7
Professional	2.5	0.8
Fraternal	0.1	0.2
Recreational	2.0	3.3
Civic	2.2	4.1
Veterans	0.5	0.0
Farm:		
Farm Bureau	4.6	1.9
Grange	0.1	0.1
N.F.O.[1]	0.0	0.0
Farmers Union	0.0	0.0
Cooperatives	2.1	0.7
Other	0.1	0.0
Community	0.3	1.7
Other	3.3	2.0
Mean Participation Score[2]	43.1	42.1

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[1] N.F.O. is the abbreviation for the National Farmers Organization.

[2] The small differences between the mean participation scores and the addition of the scores of various types of social participation are due to rounding.

ADOPTION OF SOYBEANS IN LOUISIANA

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The results of socio-cultural change are apparent everywhere. Some of these changes seem to be a consequence of the fantastic development of technology; other changes seem to have originated in the acceptance of new ideas or ideologies.

In Louisiana agriculture one of the most spectacular changes of recent years has been the adoption of soybeans as a cropping practice. The soybean has a long history and was cultivated in ancient China long before written records were kept. It was "adopted to Pennsylvania" in the 1800's. However, the modern era of soybean production did not occur in the United States until the late 1930's and early 1940's when production was concentrated in the Midwest. Since the 1950's the soybean has been on the move and the direction has been south. From 1950 to 1966, soybean acreages in the United States advanced nearly 150 percent; however in Louisiana and other Southern states total acreages approached a 220 percent gain. In 1967 Louisiana farmers planted to soybeans over three times the acreage seeded in 1962. (Sweeney, 1967: 74-78).

Socio-cultural change takes place through time. There has always been a time lag between the origin of a new idea or practice and its partial or complete adoption. When hybrid seed corn was introduced to Midwestern farmers in the early 1930's about 14 years elapsed between its introduction and its adoption by most farmers. (Ryan and Gross, 1950). The reasons for this discrepancy between the discovery of a new knowledge and its use have been of great interest to sociologists and anthropologists. Why are some new practices rejected, while others are widely accepted? Are some information sources more related to the acceptance of an innovation than other services? If so, what are the characteristics of either the innovator, the innovation or the information sources which are related to adoption, (See Barnett, Lionberger, and Rogers). The authors assume that answers to the above questions, and other similar questions, would be of practical use to change agents who are attempting to accelerate the adoption of complex scientific agricultural practices.

The general purpose of this paper is to explore the sociological context of the recent rapid increase in the production of soybeans in one Louisiana parish. Detailed objectives are as follows:

1.) To determine the reasons for the adoption of soybean production.

2.) To explore the relationship between information sources and the adoption of soybean production.

3.) To explore the relationship between the source and the type of information obtained.

Information and Risk

The decision to adopt a new innovation usually carries a certain risk to the adopter. While the innovation may be perceived by the adopter as providing him with more income, a reduction in a physical or mental burden, prestige, or some other form of reward, it also subjects the adopter to the possibility of losing some of the rewards he is presently receiving. Knight identified the three decision-making situations of certainty, risk, and uncertainty as being differentiated according to the decision-maker's knowledge and information about the possible results. (Knight, 1921: 3-48). Under the conditions of certainty, the decision-maker would have perfect knowledge, and thus would always know the outcome to be expected from a certain alternative. Decisions are made on the basis of risk when the decision-maker has sufficient information to establish a probability distribution of expected outcomes associated with certain alternatives. Thus, risk can be calculated. Uncertainty refers to future events where the parameters of the probability distribution cannot be determined empirically.

Any time an innovation is introduced a level of uncertainty is involved. The farmer is familiar with his current farm operation, its costs and returns. The use of a new practice, however, involves acquiring new knowledge and skills. The outcome is not certain.

Most farm management decisions are made in a rather uncertain environment since the results of many of the decisions are not completely within the control of the individual. Thus, no matter how much available information the decision maker has at his disposal, shortrun fluctuations add to the uncertainty of decision-making. The role of information in the decision-making process is to reduce the uncertainty, and thus to move the decision-making process from the situation of uncertainty to one of calculated risk. Ultimately, of course, the farmer would hope to move toward a situation of certainty. The final decision to adopt, however, is related to the individual's feeling that he has sufficient information to make the affirmative decision. Thus, one would anticipate a difference in time of adoption based on the individual farmer's orientation toward risk.

Data Collection

The present paper is based on interviews with farmers in a south central Louisiana parish which is a center of sugar cane production. In recent years this parish has been characterized by a rapid increase in soybean production. The increased acreage planted to soybeans is undoubtedly related to the invention of a new type of bulldozer blade which greatly reduces the cost of clearing an acre of land. While the new type of blade may help explain the rapid increase in the crop acreage, it does not explain why this "new land" was not planted to the more traditional crops rather than to soybeans.

A sample of producers of soybeans and a sample of farmers who had not yet produced soybeans commercially were drawn. The sample of soybean producers was obtained by securing from the county agent a list of all farmers who were growing soybeans commercially in the observed parish. By using a table of random numbers, 30 respondents were selected.

The sample of non-adopters was drawn from the population of rural dwellers in the parish. Only farmers as defined by United States census definition were included in the sample. Two farmers were drawn in both the adopter and the non-adopter samples. Since they were producing soybeans, they were included only in the adopter sample.

Findings

To determine why the farmers in the sample became interested in producing soybeans, they were asked: "why did you begin to grow soybeans for oil?" The following responses to the open-ended question provide an indication of the reasons:

1. Good cash crop
2. Reduced acreage allotment for major crop
3. Use of idle land, diversification
4. Best second crop
5. Other crops unsatisfactory
6. Soybeans are inexpensive to grow, more profitable and easy to grow; soil improvement
7. Good rotation crop

The responses indicate that these farmers were seeking a good cash crop which had no acreage allotment. Due to the acreage allotment on their primary crops, farmers faced the crisis of what to do with idle land which was non-productive. Since soybeans are a good cash crop with the advantage of being easy to grow, requiring less attention than many crops, and improving the soil, many farmers viewed this new crop as presenting an alternative to their current problem of having idle cropland.

The crisis following the government acreage restrictions appeared to force the farmers into searching for alternatives. The question remains as to how the farmers obtained information concerning the production of soybeans.

The earlier discussion indicated that the purpose of information was to reduce the uncertainty involved in accepting a new innovation. In an effort to determine the relationship between the quantity of information sources used by the adoptors of a new practice the following hypothesis was suggested: the adoption of soybeans is positively correlated with the number of information sources used.

The data in Table I indicate no significant correlation between the adoption of soybeans and the number of government agencies, the number of mass media and the number of friends from which the respondents indicated they received information. [(r = .06, .16, .15, respectively) See Beal and Bohlen]. A significant correlation does exist between the number of years of formal education and the adoption of soybeans (r = .29).

Participation in voluntary organizations such as farm organizations may expose farmers to information concerning new practices through formal, sponsored programs. However, the informal interaction between members which takes place preceeding and following the formal meeting of any voluntary organization in rural areas provides additional opportunities for obtaining information about new practices (Slocum, 1962). The correlation of .22 indicates that a relationship exists between the adoption of soybeans and the number of voluntary organizations the respondents named as those of which they were members.

A sixth way of gaining information about an innovation which is new in a particular area is to have had experience with the practice in some area where the innovation has been accepted. While the innovation may be new in a given area, and certain risks are involved in initiating a practice in a new area, the individual who has had some experience in another area would be taking less risk in a new area than would a native since the "migrant" would already have some of the skills and knowledge available. The present study supports the proposition that the adoption of soybeans in this parish is correlated with having farmed outside the parish (r = .35).

The discussion of risk suggested that individuals differ in the risk or amount of uncertainty they will accept. To determine the individual's orientation toward risk the respondent was asked if he agreed or disagreed with ten statements. Examples of the statements include: "If a man is to get ahead in life, he must be willing to sometimes gamble for all or nothing," and "the wise farmer is the one who does not put all his eggs in one basket." A Guttman type scale was constructed. When the items were analyzed by the Cornell Technique and the neutral respondents were allocated on a random basis the coefficient of reproducability was .911. (For additional information on methodology, see Dickinson, 1969).

The data in Table I indicate that risk orientation is not significantly correlated with the adoption of soybeans.

Risk involves not only financial loss, but also a loss of prestige or social support. Studies concerned with the diffusion of innovations have suggested that the scientific orientation of the community is related to adoption. (Hobbs: 1963). If the farmers friends and neighbors supported his adoption of soybean production, the adopter probably would be taking less risk in adopting since if the results proved financially unsuccessful, he might still not suffer a loss of prestige among his peers. In fact, the farmer may suffer a greater loss of prestige if he did not adopt an innovation in a given community, than if he adopted the innovation regardless of the financial outcome. In summary, if the persons to whom the individual looks for social approval support the innovation, the individual can predict that he will lose less by trying the new idea than if he tried it and his peers were opposed to the innovation.

The data in Table I support the proposition that a relation (r = .28) exists between the friends' attitude toward adoption of soybean production and the adoption of soybean production . An even higher correlation (r = .55) exists between the adoption of soybean production and the banker's attitude toward the adoption of soybean production.

When a multiple regression analysis using the 10 independent variables was utilized in attempting to determine their relationship to the adoption of soybean production, 41 per cent of the variance of the dependent variable was explained. The data in Table II indicate that most of the variance was explained by the banker's attitude toward the adoption of soybeans. This was followed by whether or not the respondent had farmed outside the observed parish.

Studies of the adoption process have shown that adoption stage is related to the type of information source (Rogers, 1962: 98-105). Data in Table III indicate that no significant difference exists between the adopters and the non-adopters with regard to source from which they obtained information about soybeans. Sixty-three percent of the non-adopters compared to 73 percent of the adopters first obtained information regarding soybeans from friends or relatives. Eighteen percent of the non-adopters compared to ten percent of the adopters first heard about soybean production from government agencies and about 18 percent of both adopters and non-adopters first heard about soybean production from farm service representatives.

Although government agencies did not play an important role of informing the farmers of the potential for growing soybeans, the data in Table IV indicate that the government agencies were important in providing information regarding the technical aspects of growing soybeans in Louisiana. When the adopter was asked with whom he had discussed or heard about the technical aspects of soybean production, over 50 percent indicated that they relied most heavily upon government agencies as the main source of technical advice. (Forty-three percent indicated the county extension agent). Only 30 percent of adopters turned to personal sources of information for technical advice.

When the respondents were asked with whom they had discussed or heard about the financial advisability of growing soybeans, farm service representatives such as banks, seed and feed dealers, and other businessmen were listed by one half of the respondents answering the question. The remainder of the respondents were about equally divided between those listing personal sources and those listing government agencies.

Discussion and Conclusions

Twenty-nine percent of the non-adopters indicated with whom they had discussed the technical aspects and thirty-one percent indicated with whom they discussed the financial aspects of growing soybeans. Although these farmers rejected the innovation, one cannot conclude that they had made an irrational decision or that the decision was made because of the lack of information. Economically, it may be very irrational for some farmers to produce soybeans. Results of this study are not to imply a relationship between information source and the rationality of decision-making. The purpose of the paper was to determine the sources and characteristics of the information sources used by those who have adopted soybean production.

The adoption of soybean production represents a very complex change in management practices. It differs from simple farm management changes usually examined in the agricultural sector of this country because it implies a vast number of alterations to be made in the farm practices. The The adoption of soybeans implies not only a different seed, but also new tillage practices, different fertilizer programs, new and different machinery, different marketing facilities and new skills and knowledge. Thus we are not examining one change, but in fact, a complex of changes.

While it may be economically rational for farmers with large acreages to adopt soybean production, it may not be rational for farmers with small acreages to adopt such a practice since they would not have enough acreage over which to spread the new fixed cost. Data not included in the present paper indicate that the average farm size for non-adopters was slightly less than 100 acres while the average farm size for the adopters was over 1000 acres. Often the innovative small farmer does not have the alternative of hiring custom work or cooperating with other small farmers, since by definition he is of a minority.

The reason for producing soybeans as expressed by the respondents, suggests that soybeans provide the best crop alternative when acreage restrictions limit the production of the primary crop. Since the data further suggest that it is only the large farmers who adopt the production of soybeans, the data suggest that government acreage restrictions penalize the small farmer more than the large farmer since the large farmer has a good alternate crop which he can produce.

Data in the study indicate that the number of government agencies, the number of mass media, and the number of friends used as information sources were not correlated with the adoption of soybeans, but number of years of formal education, number of memberships in voluntary community organizations and having farmed outside the observed parish were correlated with the adoption of soybeans. We attempted to indicate how years of formal education, membership in community organizations and farming outside the parish might be related to providing more information concerning the alternative of soybean production which would in turn reduce the uncertainty involved in soybean production. We also noted that the correlations between the attitudes of both the banker and friends and the adoption of soybeans might be predicted since they too would reduce the uncertainty. The attitudes of the banker and friends would reduce the uncertainty not because the producer would be more certain of financial success, but because the favorable attitudes would reduce the social loss that might be associated with an unwise selection of alternatives. The risk of loss is reduced since a certain loss of prestige might be experienced if one did not adopt the production of soybeans.

Perhaps the most significant finding in the present study is the high correlation between the adoption of soybean production and the attitudes of the banker. The findings indicate that even in a regression analysis with eight other variables one-fourth of the variance was explained by a favorable attitude on the part of the banker. This suggests that the role of the financer is very important when considering the adoption of a complex innovation. Although the favorable attitude of friends may be important to some farmers, their persuasion is based only on influnce. On the other hand, if the farmer needs additional capital before he can adopt a new type of cropping practice, the person or persons who have control of the needed capital are in a position of power.

These findings suggest that if a change agent is interested in promoting innovations which require large capital investments, he would not overlook the importance of those controlling the capital. Since financers are not likely to select alternatives which possess a great amount of uncertainty, they must be included on any program designed to inform farmers of a new innovation.

Another source of information available to farmers in an area where a practice is new is that information which is available from farmers who have migrated from an area where the practice was in use. If a farmer has had experience producing soybeans in some other area, he is undoubtedly more certain of the outcome of the soybean production in this new area since he brings with him a certain amount of knowledge and skill concerning the production even though these must be applied in a new area. Certainly, we would not wish to minimize the problems faced by the innovators of a complex innovation in a new area even though such persons had had experience with the innovation before moving to the new area. On the other hand, the data does indicate that having lived outside the parish is associated with the adoption of new innovations. Whether this is because the farmer had experience with the innovation in another area or because he is simply less tied to tradition cannot be ascertained from this study.

The finding that a high percentage of the farmers who first produced soybeans in the parish came from outside the area may be related to a favorable attitude of the banker. The "migrants" may have received their financial support from outside the local parish. The adopters were not asked where their bankers resided. Perhaps the bankers from outside the parish were more certain of the outcome and, thus, more willing to provide the necessary capital. A second possibility is that a favorable attitude on the part of the banker is less important to the migrant since he may already possess much of the equipment necessary for the production of soybeans. A third possibility is that bankers within the parish may have been more eager to support farmers who had previous experience producing soybeans than farmers who had no such experience. Research is currently being conducted to further determine the role of "migrants" in the adoption of soybeans in Louisiana.

TABLE I

ZERO ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ADOPTION OF SOYBEAN PRODUCTION AND SELECTED INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Independent Variables	Adoption of Soybeans
Information Sources	
Number of agencies used as information sources	.06
Number of mass media used as information sources	.16
Number of friends used as information sources	.15
Number of community organizations	.22*
Educational achievement	.29**
Farmed outside the observed parish	.35***
Risk Orientation	.14
Social Support	
Banker's attitude toward adoption	.55***
Friend's attitude toward adoption	.28*

N = 78 *$p > .05$ **$p > .01$ ***$p > .001$

TABLE II

MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF NINE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND ADOPTION OF SOYBEAN PRODUCTION SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF VARIANCE EXPLAINED

Independent Variables	Adoption of Soybeans R = .634	
Information		11.55*
Number of mass media used as information sources	.24	
Number of agencies used as information sources	.43	
Number of friends used as information sources	.10	
Number of community organizations	.11	
Education	2.14	
Farmed outside the observed parish	8.53*	
Risk Orientation		2.13
Social Support		26.93*
Banker's attitude toward adoption	26.79*	
Friends' attitude toward adoption	.14	
Total Variance Explained		40.61

N = 78

*p >.05

TABLE III

FIRST SOURCE FROM WHICH INFORMATION REGARDING SOYBEANS WAS OBTAINED BY ADOPTER CATEGORY

Source of Information	Non-Adopter		Adopter	
	N	%	N	%
Friend or Relative	24	63	22	73
Government Agency	7	18	3	10
Farm Service or other Impersonal Service	7	18	5	17
Total	38*	100	30	100

*Ten respondents did not answer the question.

Difference of proportion 1.1 not significant at .05 level.

TABLE IV

INFORMATION SOURCES USED FOR SPECIFIC TYPES OF INFORMATION

Source of Information	First Awareness		Technical		Financial	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Friend or Relative	22	73*	9	31*	7	27
Government Agency	3	10	15	52**	5	19**
Farm Service or other Impersonal Source	5	17***	5	17***	14	54***
Total	30	100	29[1]	100	26[1]	100

[1] Does not add to 30 because of no response.

*Difference of proportion significant at .02 level.

**Difference of proportion significant at .03 level.

***Difference of proportion significant at .08 level.

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INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE TO TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE[1]

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Introduction

> "There is one main theme which runs like a red thread through the fabric of rural society today. It is social change."[2]

That statement made a decade ago by Professor Rogers has never been more true than it is today. But, with one major difference. Social change in rural society is increasingly being forced upon it by the larger society. Many studies adequately document this trend.[3]

The essence of these studies is that rural communities are more closely tied to the larger American social structure than they ever have been. Consequently, it is no longer possible to look at rural society as some compartmentalized or autonomous unit, but we must agree with Taylor and Jones[4] that rural life can be thought of only in the context of urban society.

The effect of these changing social relationships and the impact of technicalization and industrialization in agriculture on the rural institutional structure will be the focus of this paper.

Foundations of an Urbanized Society

To have an urbanized society it is imperative that it be based upon a productive agricultural establishment. The founding fathers of this nation laid the groundwork for the current urbanized society in the policies and programs outlined in the constitution and of considerable importance was the notion that this nation would have cheap food. The opening of roads and canals to transport farm commodities as well as the generous support of government for the development of railroads eased the flow of cheap food to urban residents. The establishment of the United States Department of Agriculture, the Land Grant College system, the Agricultural Experiment Stations, the Cooperative Extension Service, and more recent domestic agricultural programs and policies have all gone to assure a supply of abundant and cheap food. We suggest that the sum total of these programs and policies be viewed as the "cheap food" policy.

The affect of this cheap food policy on agriculture and rural America can best be viewed through a framework of technicalization and industrialization. By technicalization we simply mean the introduction and adoption of technology without regard to human costs, while industrialization is basically the substitution of capital for labor.

We are all aware of the pressure on the contemporary commercial farmer to adopt innovations, or to generate the innovations necessary to maintain a competitive position within farming. A result of this type of competition has been to provide the consumer with abundant and cheap food. There are many examples of the dramatic changes in production and labor requirements that have been brought about by mechanization, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, herbacides, new varieties, hybridization, selective breeding, improved nutrition, and many more. All of these changes have provided us with not only the cheap food which we require, but they also provide a surplus pool of labor for the expanding urban labor market. However, to date we have not been willing to tally the social costs of these innovations.

While mechanization has been virtually completed in many crops, including the cereal grains and cotton, the impact of this movement alone is just now beginning to be felt in the livestock and horticultural sectors of agriculture. The "cheap food" policy has been in large part responsible for the continued expansion of the urban labor market and the increasing levels of living for most residents of this country. The increasing level of living which has been fostered in large part by improved wage scales in urban jobs has also tended to bring up the wages of workers in agriculture. However, with national pressure to maintain a "cheap food" policy, the agricultural producer is pressured to adopt mechanization as rapidly as possible to replace the high cost labor that he has been using. The high cost of labor can easily place him in a poor competitive position with his neighbor and competitor who has mechanized.

Thus we see the move to automated livestock feeding operations, increasing mechanization in the dairy industry, and more recently a surge of mechanization within the horticultural sector. Many horticultural crops have not been adapted to mechanization because of growth habit, but the plant breeders as well as agricultural engineers are working overtime to break down these last barriers to mechanization in agriculture. For example, we are now at the stage where most tart cherries will be mechanically harvested within a few years--and the same technology can be applied to the harvest of apples for processing. Work is well along the way towards the development of a citrus harvester and the introduction of new varieties of tomatoes and a new field harvester have revolutionized the processed tomato industry. Most dramatic shifts will be seen in the harvesting of grapes and beans within the next few years. It is estimated that by 1975 only 15 percent of the present harvest labor force will be required to harvest the grape crop. Pole beans are a major crop in several southeastern states as well as in the Pacific Northwest. Because of high costs of harvest labor it is predicted that by 1975 pole beans will be largely replaced by bush beans which can be mechanically harvested and that only 18 percent of the current harvest labor will be required. The impact of this change alone in bean production will mean a reduction of as many as 38,000 harvest jobs in North Carolina and 8,000 harvest jobs in Tennessee.[3]

While we have all benefited from the abundant and inexpensive food provided by the "cheap food" policy, we have not adequately considered the social costs that have been involved in carrying out this policy. The effects on the individual as well as the major rural institutions is the next topic for consideration.

Surplus Manpower

One of the unfortunate consequences of the "cheap food" policy is that no rural manpower policy is available to provide an equitable adjustment for farm workers who have lost their jobs. If it had not been for the parallel and serendipitious technological revolution within the industrial sector, the plight of a displaced rural population would have been even more bleak. We have only to look to the urban villages in many developing countries to see the unfortunate effects of insufficient industry to absorb persons no longer needed on the farm.

In the U.S. we are painfully aware of the social consequences of the forced migration from the rural south caused by the mechanization of cotton production during the 1950's. While many would have us believe that the "pull" factor of urban jobs was the prime ingredient in encouraging out-migration from the cotton fields, it was a fact that many were " . . . adversely affected by the lack of affirmative manpower policy, including farm families pushed into migration, those with insufficient resources, and those who have tried to make a living as seasonal and migratory workers."[6]

Therefore the major social problem resulting from our "cheap food" policy is the pool of surplus labor which has migrated to urban centers because of a lack of viable employment alternatives within the rural economy. This continual drain of human resources from the rural areas has left an indelible imprint on the institutional structure of rural America.

Adjustments in Rural Institutions

Let us briefly look at the rural family, school, church, the government and the community. What impact have these shifts in agriculture to technicalization and industrialization had on these institutions?

Family

The farm family of the future will probably have more in common with its urban counterpart than with the rural family in which they were raised.[7] What effect has increased technology had on the rural family? One result is that rapid transportation and communication procedures are largely responsible for making rural and urban families more alike in attitudes and values. Divorce will continue to be less popular in rural areas and birth control devices will be adopted less quickly.

However, the important change is the breakdown of the extended kinship structure common to farm and poverty areas in the United States. As job opportunities continue to decline in farming and other traditional rural industries such as mining and lumbering, the employment opportunities for all members of the extended family will continue to decline.

Out-migration from rural communities is leaving an age structure that is sadly out of balance. The result is many very old persons in a lot of rural counties. In Mills County, Texas, a completely agricultural county, the median age of the population in 1940 was lower than the national average, by 1960 it was 15 years higher than the U.S. average. There are half as many persons in the age group 20-29 as 50-59 and the young adults represent even less than 70-79 age group. There are very few children in Mills county and most agriculture counties in the U.S. face this continued dilemma. As adjustments in the agricultural organization are continuing to be made, we find parallel population adjustments.

Rural Church

The rural church is possibly the most pathetic victim of social change in rural America. It has lost many of its bright young leaders to urban areas, and does not have enough financial or other resources to overcome its problems, if indeed it knew how to do so.

As the most conservative and least responsive of all rural social institutions the church faces an almost insoluble dilemma in adjusting to the technological changes which have torn the rural countryside and ravaged it of its people.

Without people to contribute to churches the downward spiral of church activity begins which leads most rural churches to limited programs, unqualified, untrained, and quite often lay ministers.

The adjustments required include most importantly fewer congregations in sparsely populated areas. Denominational loyalties will have to be restructured since a small community of 1,000 can hardly support more than three churches, assuming that all members of the community are active in a church.

Rural Schools

The formal education provided by schools is a vital part of the learning process that goes on throughout life. As changes take place in the larger society, the school system must also be prepared to change.

Modern societies expect great things from their schools. They usually believe that the social ills of any society can be cured by more education. For example, education is often seen as a method for increasing racial tolerance. The educational system is also expected to keep the country technologically ahead of the rest of the world.

However, of more importance here is the role of the school in social change. The educational structure is expected to seek out change and lead the rest of society. A declining rural population along with the knowledge explosion has rendered the traditional rural educational system inadequate for the needs of today. The general solution seems to be in the direction of consolidation of small and/or inadequate systems.

No matter at what rate school consolidation proceeds, rural schools in sparsely populated areas will not be able to provide the same education environment as schools in urban areas. Research by rural sociologists suggests some solutions to these problems.[8]

1. Pooling Resources--Several small schools could join together and hire special teachers or special equipment which could be shared by a number of small school districts. For example, an individual such as a remedial reading teacher, is jointly hired by more than one school system so that she provides services to all the schools.[9]

2. Locating Outside Funds--Money grants from such sources as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act as well as various private foundations are available to rural schools to improve their educational programs. However, many small schools do not have the expertise necessary to prepare the proposals necessary to receive outside funding.

3. Improving School-Community Relations--Many small schools receive only minor support from the community. Many of the problems may be due to the declining population of rural schools. Small and rural schools, however, are in a unique position to gain community support for new programs. The small size and the primary group atmosphere of these schools could facilitate open discussion of school problems and ways to solve them. But this unique advantage of rural schools is not realized unless a concerted effort is made to channel community support.

Many changes must take place if rural schools are to meet the challenge of providing an adequate education for rural students. Much innovative thinking will be necessary to meet these challenges.

Ineffectual Rural Governments

One institution that has been particularly reluctant to change is rural government. Changes in county and township government have been generally opposed by politicians with a vested interest, political machines have also opposed the county manager plan and the consolidation of local government. Most citizens are apathetic about their local government; this also contributes to its lack of adjustment to change.

With a declining population and the dependence on property taxes for the provision of most local governmental services, it becomes increasingly difficult to provide the level of services required by a reduced population with an unbalanced age structure. Therefore it is imperative that local governments cooperate with other municipalities and county units for the problems of rural areas often rest on those of wider areas. More cooperation is needed with state and federal governments to provide needed local government services.

In summary then, we can say that changes affecting major rural institutions have had the effect of pushing many rural persons and farmers into urbanized U.S. society. But in the process, most of the rural institutions have been weakened. Urban and cosmopolite standards will be necessary for these institutions to survive in an environment of technicalization and industrialization.

Let us now explore what these changes have done to the character of rural life.

The "Deep Poverty" of Rural Areas

A half century of forced migration of the most viable rural resource, its productive and educated, as well as undereducated, youth have left rural areas with a "deep poverty" of human resources. That great agrarian fundamentalist, Liberty Hyde Bailey recognized this problem shortly following the turn of the century:

> The city sits like a parasite, running out its roots into the open country and draining it of its substance. The city takes everything to itself--materials, money, men--and gives back only what it does not want; it does not reconstruct or even maintain its contributory country. Many country places are already sucked dry.[10]

As Bailey recognized, this exodus of rural residents made possible the continued growth and development of metropolitan centers, but at the same time, it produced many of the social problems of the cities. Many of our urban social problems are really rural social problems that have been transplanted along with the rural migrants.

The decline in economic activity in rural areas has severely weakened the infrastructure of these areas. In many localities those local units (i.e., government, school, church, utilities, banking, etc.) that comprise the infrastructure can only provide a base for future growth by a mass infusion of resources from the outside, either by the state or federal government, or by the economic sectors.

This "deep poverty" in both human and economic resources must be reversed if we are to cope realistically with many of the acute problems of our society that have been enhanced by the concentration of 75 percent of our population on 2 percent of our land. This is to say that we must stem the tide of migration to metropolitan centers by providing alternative localities with viable employment opportunities for those rural residents who will continue to be displaced from agriculture by the relentless march of technology.

Our colleagues, the agricultural economists, have been accused of providing policy makers with micro economic data from which macro economic policy decisions are made. What is right, or good, for one farm firm is not necessarily right, or good, for the total agricultural industry. Perhaps we as rural sociologists are open to this same type of criticism. Our research, teaching and action programs have too often been concerned with change and adjustment in one institutional sector (i.e., adoption of agricultural technology, impact of education on aspiration of rural boys) without a parallel concern for the impact on other institutions in the rural social structure.

Have we ever thoroughly investigated the ramifications of the adoption of a piece of labor displacing technology in agriculture on the economic sector of a rural community, on the educational sector of that community, on the churches of that community, on the very family structure itself? Have we investigated the impact of school consolidation and building centralization of the remaining institutional units of the affected area? What impact to the remaining institutional units can we identify by the closing of a rural church, or a rural business? What is the impact of the changing of the locus of governmental decision making on the remaining institutional sectors?

Are we doing an adequate job of preparing others to assist in the change and adjustment process faced by our rural areas through academic programs that are tailored to these needs, or through continuing education programs for those not enrolled in academic institutions? Are we working vigorously with our professional colleagues in agriculture to help them become knowledgable of the impact of technological changes they are working to implement on the remainder of the rural social order? Are we making ourselves available to the policy makers so they may consider adequately our body of knowledge as they design policies and programs for rural areas?

Our view of the situation is that we must give a flat no to too many of the above questions. Consequently, we are saying that it is imperative that our research, teaching and action programs be more concerned with a macro approach, or the holistic approach of the Development specialist. We must not abandon our efforts at micro analysis in an attempt to build up a viable and generalizable theory of society, but we must at the same time exert a realistic amount of effort to assist the people of rural areas to ameliorate their problems if our social order is to survive--both for those now residing in metropolitan centers as well as for those residing in the rural areas of our nation.

FOOTNOTES

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RECENT DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES IN THE FARM POPULATION

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In a recent issue of the CURRENT POPULATION REPORTS,[1] the Bureau of the Census estimated that in 1968 the farm population of the United States was 10,454,000 compared with 31 million in 1920 and 30 million in 1940. In other words the proportion of the population living on farms has declined from 30 to about 5 per cent, with the greatest losses occuring within the last 30 years (Figure 1).

At the outset, it should be pointed out that the data with which we are dealing extend over a period of almost 50 years, during which time the data have been affected by changes in census definitions. Just as the change in "urban" back in 1950 resulted in a sharp increase of 6.7 million urban residents,[2] the change in the definition of "farm" in 1960 likewise accounts for a loss of approximately 4.2 million in the farm population during the 1950-1960 decade.[3] The farm loss may be as high as 6.4 million because of differences between Current Population Survey figures used by the United States Department of Agriculture and the figures published in the 1960 Census.[4]

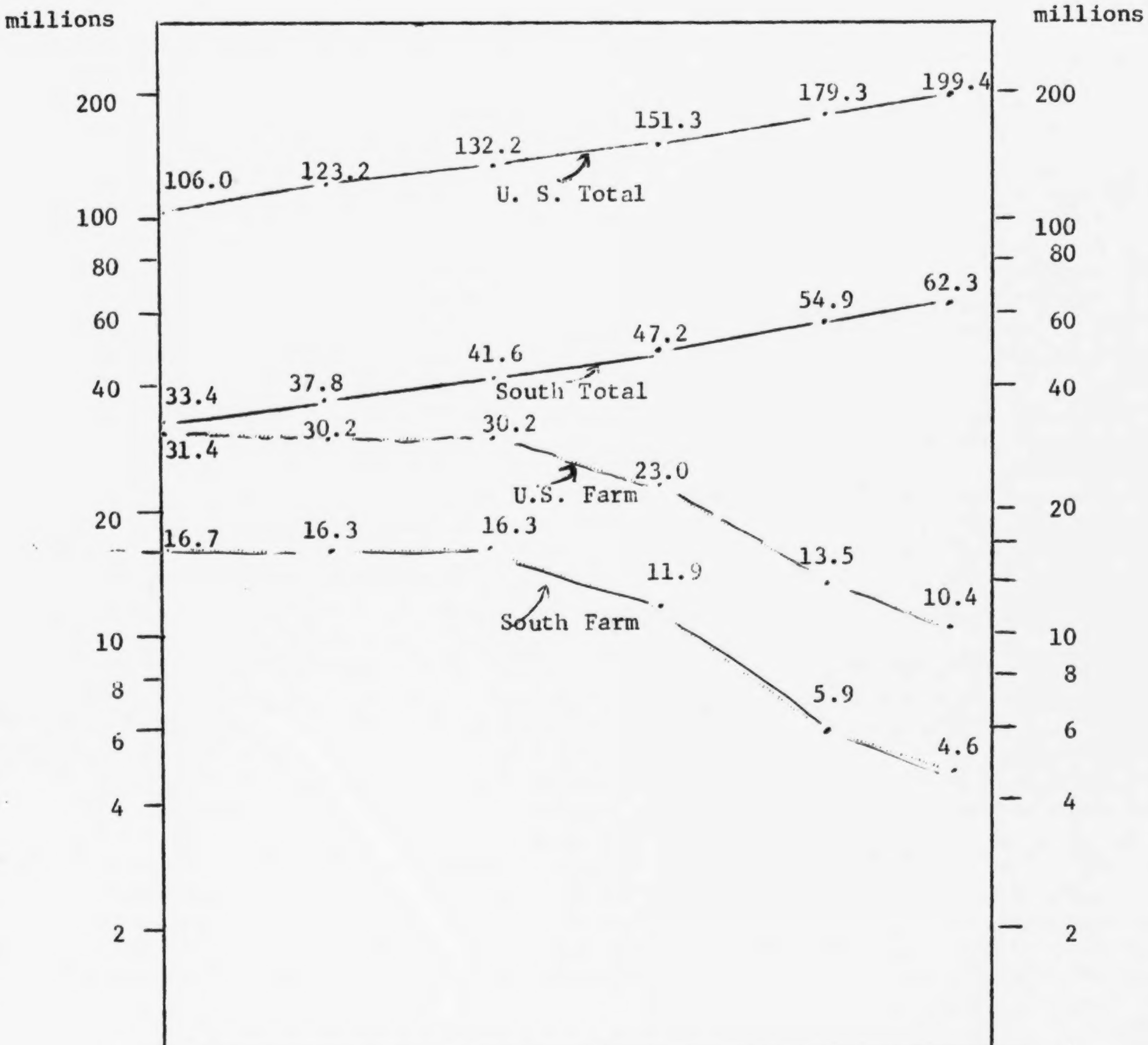
Actually, whatever the cause for the discrepancies, changing the farm definition probably is a belated recognition of an already accomplished fact and hardly distorts the accelerated downward trend in farm population. We are not agricultural economists and this demographic study merely seeks to bring attention to some of the more striking changes in the farm population and is not an attempt to assess their economic consequences.[5] Among these changes are the overall historical decline of the farm population, the regional nature of the decline, the impact of the decline on the nonwhite farmers, the changes in the size and composition of the labor force, the shift toward nonfarm residence on the part of those employed in traditional farm occupations, and the changing age structure.

Decline in Farm Population - Although attempts have been made to estimate the farm population back to 1910,[6] the census enumeration of the farm population did not begin until 1920; thus, this study covers a period of almost 50 years: 1920-1968. During this period farm population has declined by more than 21 million, 95 per cent of it taking place since 1940. At the time of World War I there was some indication that northern industries were attracting workers from the farms but the depression years of the 30's put at least a temporary halt to this migration movement.[7] With the advent of World War II, rural resistance to mechanical innovations in farming gave way to technological pressures and, undoubtedly, this mechanization factor as well as the demands for workers from industrial plants tooled up for military production contributed to the impetus of the movement of large numbers from the farms of the nation.

Farm Population in the South - Regionally, the South always has been a principal segment of the nation's agricultural economy; hence, it would be impossible to discuss farm changes without giving special attention to the southern region. That the farm picture in the United States is closely tied to the South can be seen in Figure 1. As the nation's farm population dropped 62 per cent since 1920, the South suffered a loss of 72 per cent. Fifty years ago over half (53.5%) of the country's farm population resided in the South but within the past decade this has now dropped for the first time to below 50 per cent (44%). There is little doubt but what has been happening to the farm population in the South has been reflected in national trends.

Figure 1

Total and Farm Population
United States and the South
1920-1968



Source: Total Population: Decennial Censuses and Annual Estimates by States: 1960-1968
Farm Population: U.S.D.A. Economic Research Service Reports, No. 130 (Oct. 1963) and P-27 Series Nos. 31-40.

TABLE 1
Average Annual Net Out-Migration from Farm Population
1920-1968

Period	Average Annual Net Out-Migration Number	Rate*
1920-1925	666,000	2.1
1930-1935	58,000	0.2
1940-1945	1,602,000	5.8
1950-1955	1,115,000	5.4
1960-1965	794,000	5.7
1965-1968	711,000	6.3

*Represents net change in population per 100 average farm population.

Source: U.S. Population Mobility and Distribution, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service Bulletin No. 436, 1969.

In 1920, one-third of the nation's population lived on farms but this proportion has declined at an accelerated pace with each decennial census since 1940, from 23 to 5 per cent in 1968. In the South where over half of its people were farm residents in 1920, the downward trend has been precipitous. In part, this has been due to changes in cotton production. For example, studies of displacement by mechanization and other farm technology indicate that 300,000 workers in cotton operations have been displaced. In 1965 thirteen per cent more cotton was produced in the Southern Plains than in 1955, but the amount of labor required was reduced by 50 per cent.[8] In 1968, the southern farm population had been reduced to less than ten per cent (7.5%) of the region's population. As was the case for the nation, almost all of the 12 million loss of farm residents occurred after 1940; in other words, 95 per cent of the loss of southern farm residents took place since 1940.

Nonwhite Farm Population - Another facet of the declining farm population in the United States is the change in the racial composition due, again, to the influence of the southern region. Nationally, the nonwhite people have never been more than about one-sixth of the farm population (16.6% in 1920); however, there has been a loss of 82 per cent of the nonwhite farm residents during the 1920-1968 period as their numbers dropped from 5.2 to 1.1 million (Figure 2). The nonwhites now are down to close to 10 per cent of the farm population throughout the United States. This would tend to support the view that what has happened to the farm population in the South has been reflected in the national scene since the movement of nonwhites from farm areas has, for the most part, been a southern phenomenon.[9]

Although the nonwhite population has not been a very large segment of the nation's farm residents, farming has been the principal occupation of the nonwhites. At the national level, almost one-half (47.8%) of the nonwhites lived on farms in 1920 but this proportion has dropped so sharply that by 1968 it was estimated that less than 5 per cent of the nonwhite population were on farms (Table 2). This represents a loss of some 5 million nonwhite farm residents since 1920 and 4.6 million since 1940. How important the South looms in the national farm picture may be observed from the data presented in Table 3.

Southern Farm Nonwhites - In the South, the nonwhite population growth was nowhere near as great as it was in the nation (125%). Between 1920 and 1968, the nonwhite population in the South increased from 9.0 to 13.2 million, or by 47 per cent, probably indicating that southern nonwhites not only were leaving farms, but were also leaving the region. A glance at the data for the nonwhite population reveals that, historically, nonwhite farm residents were predominantly southern residents. This was true in 1920 when 98 per cent of the nation's nonwhite farm residents lived in the South, and it remains the same in 1968 when 93 per cent were residing on southern farms. But despite the fact that a vast majority of nonwhite farm residents still live in the South, their number and proportion have been cut drastically. By 1968 there were over 4 million fewer nonwhite farm residents than in 1920, reducing the proportion of nonwhites among the southern farm population from 57 to 8 per cent.

TABLE 2
Changes in Nonwhite Farm Population
United States: 1920-1968
(000)

Year	Total Nonwhite	Nonwhite Farm	% Farm	% Change in Farm
1920	10,890	5,206	47.8	--
1930	12,488	4,932	39.5	-5.3
1940	13,455	4,752	35.3	-3.6
1950	15,755	3,333	21.1	-29.9
1960	20,497	1,593	7.8	-52.2
1968	24,503	1,106	4.5	-30.6

Source: 1920-1968: Decennial Censuses
1968: Farm Population, U.S.D.A. Economic Research Service Report No. 40.

TABLE 3
Changes in Nonwhite Farm Population
The South: 1920-1968
(000)

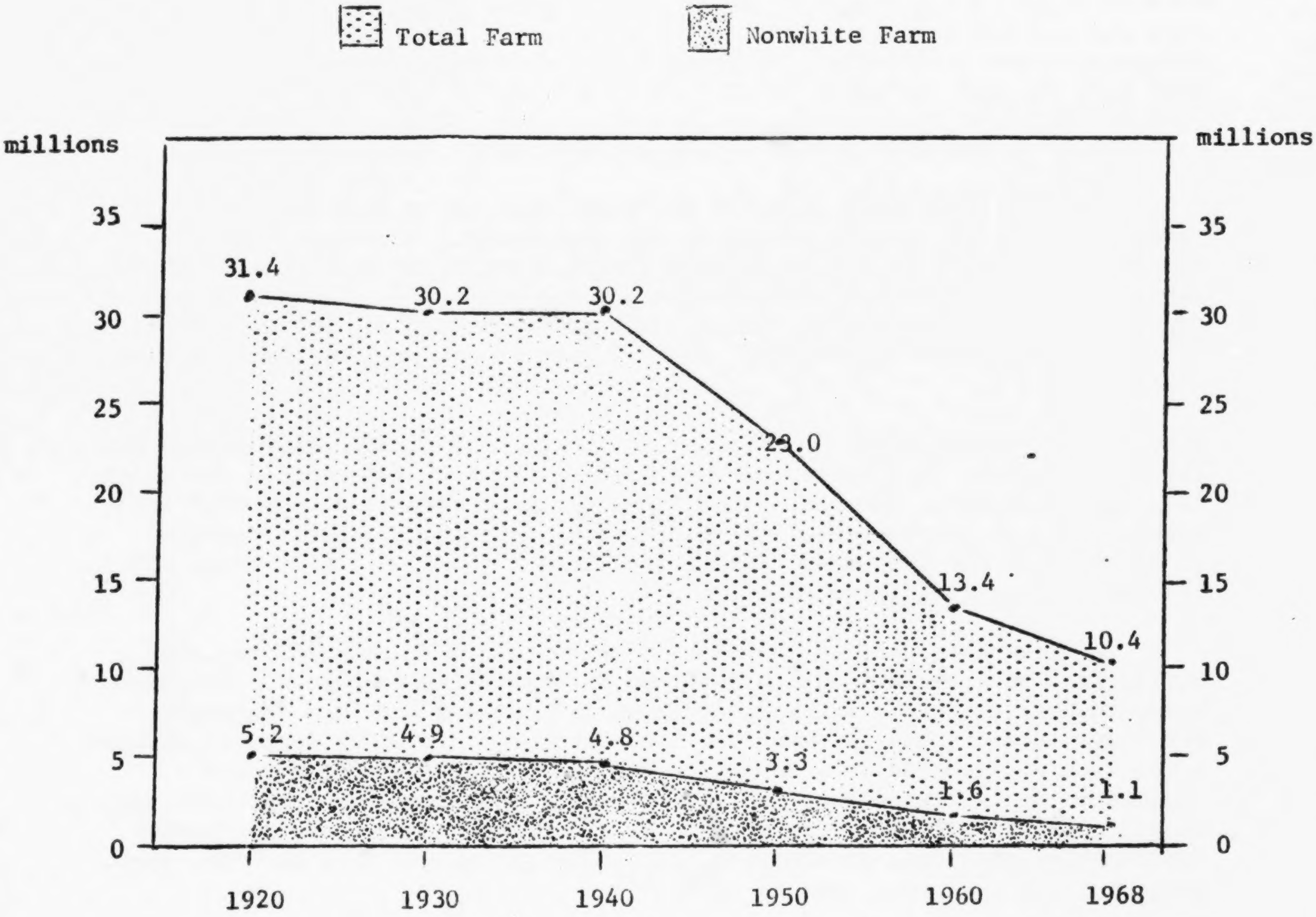
Year	Total Nonwhite	Nonwhite Farm	% Farm	% Change in Farm	% U.S. Farm in the South
1920	8,994	5,085	56.5	--	97.7
1930	9,586	4,658	48.6	-8.4	94.4
1940	10,008	4,454	44.5	-4.4	93.7
1950	10,347	3,141	30.3	-29.5	94.2
1960	11,496	1,482	12.9	-52.8	93.0
1968	13,407	1,029	7.8	-30.6	93.0

Source: 1920-1960: Decennial Censuses
1968: Estimated from Current Population Report P-20, 175 (1966)

Thus, in terms of numbers, it has become evident that farm residents are now almost a negligible part of the nation's population; that even in the South where, at one time, they represented over half the population, the farm residents have been reduced to an insignificant 8 per cent; and that the observed decline in farm population is directly tied into changes among the nonwhite population, especially in the South.

Figure 2

U. S. Nonwhite Farm Population
1920-1968



Source: 1920-1960: Decennial Censuses
1968: Farm Population, U.S.D.A. Economic Research Service Report No. 40.

Farm Labor Force - Concomitant with the decline in farm residents in the United States and in the South, other aspects of the farm population have been the changes in the size and composition of the labor force of the farm population and changes in the residential distribution of those engaged in agricultural work (Tables 4-5).

In the past, living on a farm meant being a farmer, and being a farmer meant living on a farm. Such assumptions no longer are valid. The transition from manual to mechanical farming has demanded new skills and experience not formerly related to agriculture labor. Inventions such as the mechanical cotton-picker, for example, made tremendous impact upon the quantity and quality of farm labor in southern agriculture.[10] These and other factors eliminated the need for vast numbers of farmers to plant and harvest crops without reducing production levels. The mule, the plow, the rake and the hoe have given way to the tractor with its vast array of interchangeable farm implements. Mechanization undoubtedly reduced the dawn to dusk work day and gradually reduced the necessity of having the farm laborers live at the place of his work, on the farm. "Day labor" or "hired farm wage earners" have increased as the source of farm labor.

Some of these innovations in the farm labor force have been noted in recent statistical reports issued by the government.[11] Three of these, Farm Population of the United States, issued jointly by the Bureau of the Census and the Department of Agriculture; Farm Population, and The Hired Farm Working Force Annual Estimates, issued by the Economic Research Service of the Department of Agriculture, are the sources for much of the following discussion.

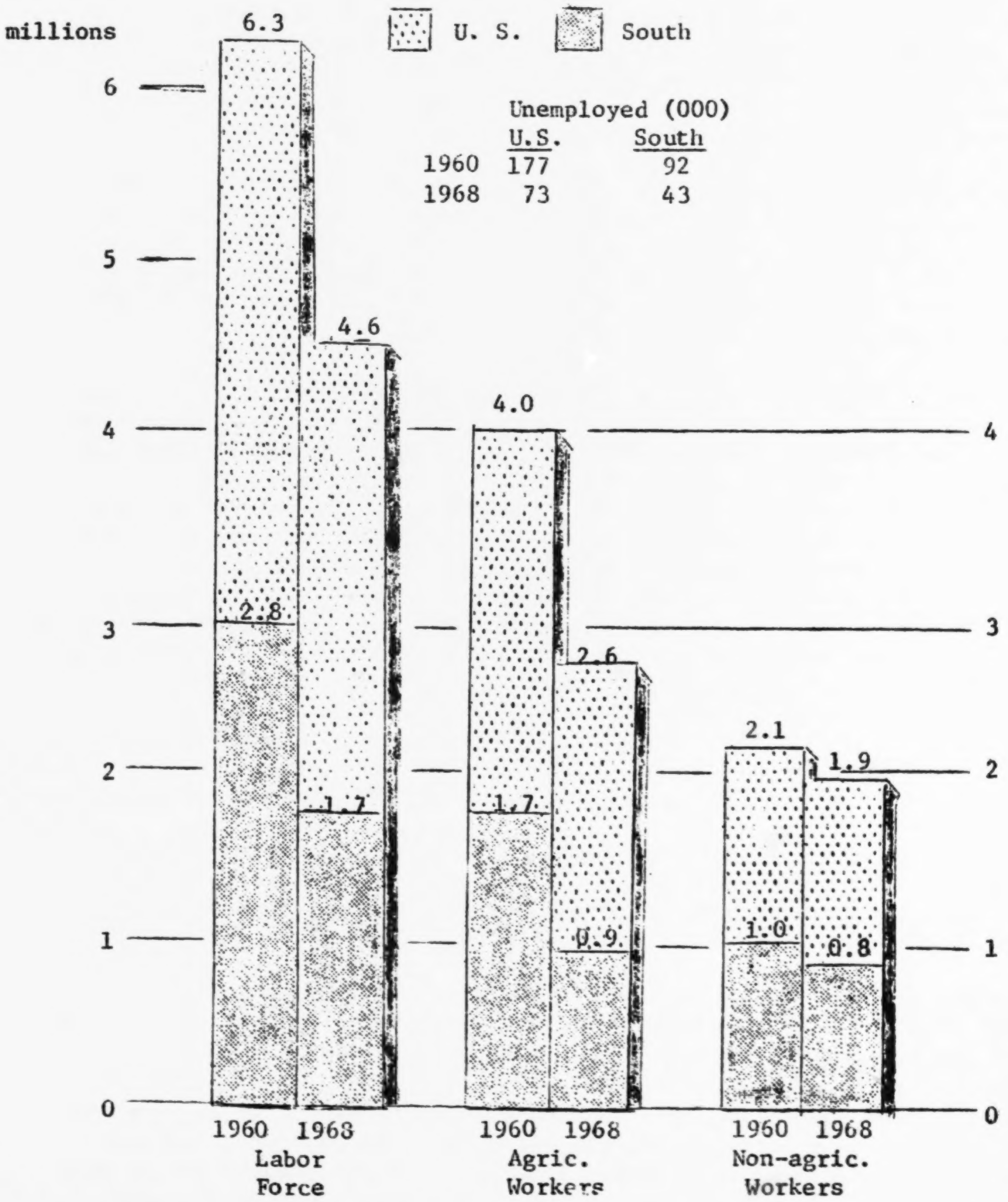
Size of Farm Labor Force - Obviously, as the farm population declined so did the labor force. As a matter of fact, during the 1960-1968 period for which data were published, the farm labor force declined by some 30 per cent compared with a 22 per cent decline of the total population. What attention is directed to here, however, is not the size of the farm labor force, but its composition and distribution.

In presenting data on the farm labor force, the Census-ERS reports divide farm workers into agriculture and non-agriculture workers. Included among the agriculture workers in addition to "farmers and farm managers" and "farm laborers and foremen" are "(a) persons employed on farms in occupations such as truck driver, mechanic, and bookkeeper, and (b) persons engaged in activities other than strictly farm operation such as cotton ginning, contract farm services, veterinary and breeding services, hatcheries, experimental stations, greenhouses, landscape gardening, tree service, trapping, hunting preserves, and kennels."[12]

Agriculture Workers - Even with this broad and inclusive list of "farm occupations," the agriculture workers showed a decline of 35 per cent between 1960 and 1968 compared with a drop of 8 per cent for non-agriculture workers (Figure 3). In other words, not only has the farm labor force experienced continued declines but the proportion of the labor force engaged in agriculture is now almost equally divided among agriculture (57%) and non-agriculture workers. In the South these trends were much more prominent. The entire farm labor force was down about 40 per cent, with the agriculture workers being cut in half from 1.7 million to 900,000, a decrease of 49 per cent (Figure 3). This would seem to indicate, if present trends continue, that less than half of the farm labor in the South will be employed in

Figure 3

Farm Labor Force
U. S. and South
1960 and 1968



Unemployed (000)

	U.S.	South
1960	177	92
1968	73	43

Source: Annual Estimates of Farm Population, Census-ERS Series P-27 (1961-1968)
1960: Estimated from 1960-1961 U. S. data.

farming and related occupations. As a matter of fact, if the persons engaged in agriculture occupations are viewed as a percentage of the total farm population, the 1968 data would reveal only one-fourth of the farm population in the country were in "agriculture occupations" and, in the South, this would be reduced to less than one-fifth.

To state it another way, the farm population no longer is necessarily related to agriculture occupations. On the other hand, those engaged in agriculture occupations cannot be considered to be farm residents.

Residence of Agriculture Workers - According to the Current Population Report from which these data were taken, there were 5.4 million agriculture workers in the United States in 1960, three-fourths of whom were living on farms (Table 4). However, during the following eight years, the number of agricultural workers declined 1.2 million (-23.4%), and only 63 per cent of those were farm residents, a drop of 35 per cent since 1960. If these rates of decline were to continue over the next decade, the proportion of agriculture workers living on farms could conceivably drop below 50 per cent.

The Department of Agriculture, in its report of "hired farm workers," tends to confirm the drift away from farms by those engaged in agriculture occupations. In 1963, the Department of Agriculture reported that of the 3.6 million hired farm workers, only one-third (35%) were living on farms. Five years later when the number of hired farm workers dropped 21 per cent, fewer than 30 per cent (28.6%) were living on farms.

A similar trend was noted in the Censuses of 1950 and 1960.[13] Using only those occupations traditionally related to agriculture (farmers, farm managers, farm laborers, farm foremen and unpaid family workers) there was a 41 per cent drop during the decade from 6.7 to 3.9 million (Table 5). And, again, along with the decrease in those employed in agriculture occupations, there was an accompanying decline in the number of the farm labor force living on farms. Compared with the broader and more inclusive occupational grouping used in the Current Population Reports, the Census occupations are more directly related to farm production activities and, as would be expected, a much higher proportion were living on farms. In 1950, more than four-fifths (84%) were farm residents, but a decade later this had dropped to 70 per cent. Although this is only a difference of 13 percentage points, it actually represents over a 50 per cent decline in farm residents, from 5.6 to 2.8 million while, at the same time, those living in urban places and rural nonfarm areas increased 10 and 5 per cent respectively.

What these employment and residence data imply, of course, is that a rather radical change has occurred in the composition and distribution of the farm labor force. Not only are fewer persons in the farm labor force but those in the farm labor force are continuing to leave the farms.

Age Structure of Farm Population - One other demographic facet of the farm population might be mentioned here because it will have implications for the future of the agriculture segment of our economy. Reference here is to the impact changes in the farm population have had upon its age-structure. Grouping the farm population into four broad age-groups (under 14 years of age, the younger labor force 14-44, the older labor force 45-64, and the older people 65 and older), it becomes apparent that the younger people are leaving the farms (Figure 4). In 1920 less than 20 per cent of the farm population was 45 or older while, in 1968, this age-group accounted for more than one-third of the farm population. Of particular interest is the older farm population. From less than 5 per cent in 1920, the so-called "senior citizens" now comprised almost 11 per cent of the farm population, a much higher proportion than the 9.5 per cent which was reported for the nation. A high proportion of young people has been long associated with farm populations but, even here, out-migration of the young adults has considerably altered the picture. From 36 per cent in 1920, the proportion of children under 14 years of age has dropped to 26 per cent in 1968, which is below the proportion reported for the nation (27%). And crucial to the farm labor force is the steady decline of the population in the younger labor force group 14-44 years old. This proportion of the farm population has been reduced from 45 to 37 per cent since 1920, and Undersecretary of Agriculture Phil Campbell, Jr. has indicated that from 75 to 90 per cent of the children now on farms will be living in urban areas before the close of the present decade.[14]

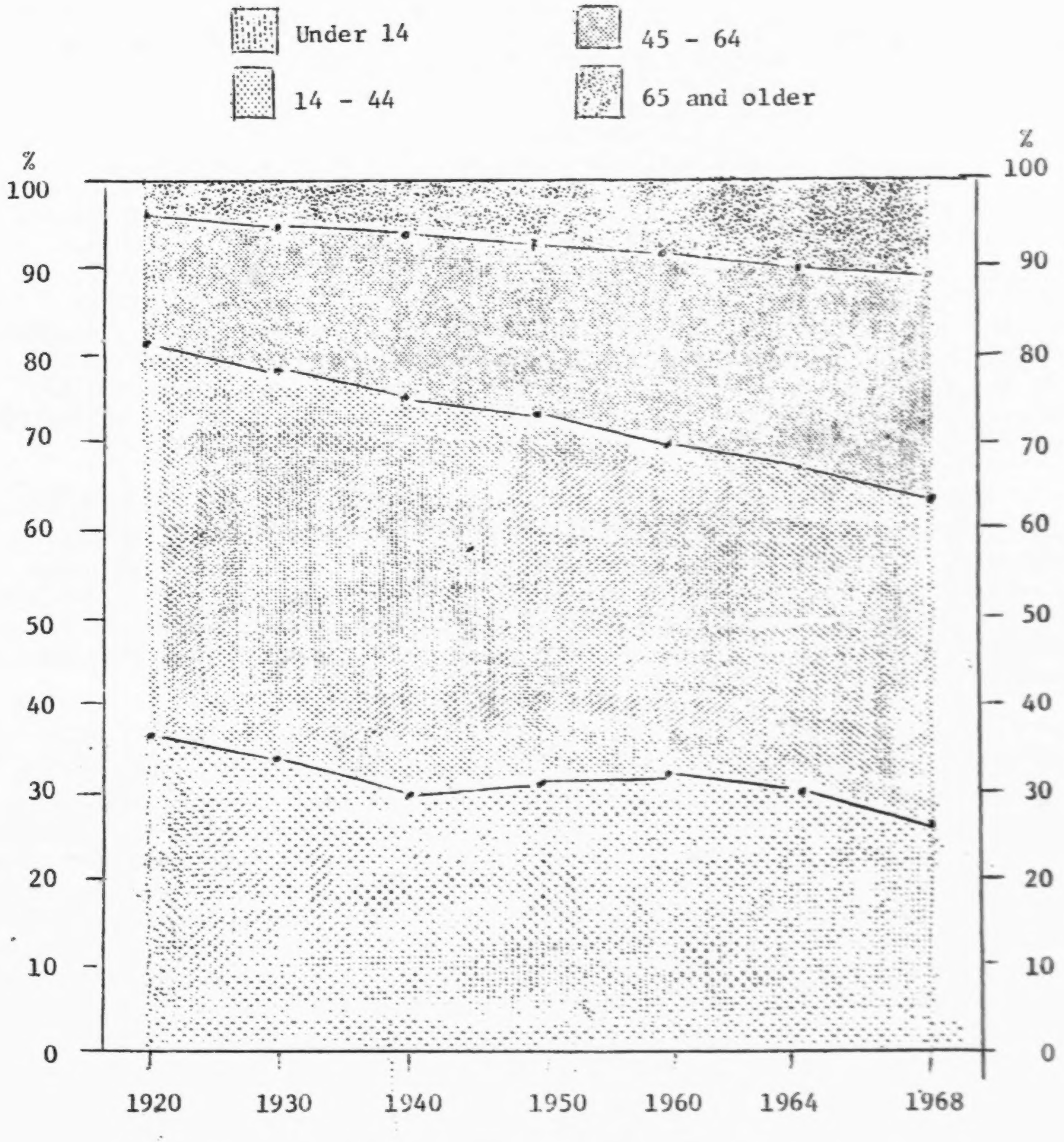
What these few demographic facts seem to be telling us is that agriculture production as we have known it in the United States may be facing revolutionary changes during the 1970's. By 1980 farming will demand workers with skills formerly associated with industrial activities as agricultural enterprises grow in size with large capital investments to develop and maintain extensive mechanization of food production. In other words, the continued loss of farm population largely represents a "push" off the farms of workers with outmoded skills of the dirt farmer who are no longer able to produce the food needed for an ever-increasing population estimated to reach 250 million by 1980.

There is little doubt that the technological revolution in farming has affected the structure of traditional farming. Overall, farms have increased in size and specialization of enterprise, use of machines, and a greater dependence on nonfarm economy. In 1966, each of the 5.2 million farmworkers, on the average, provided enough farm products to supply himself and 39 other consumers; this is nearly 50 per cent greater than the average for the last decade.

If projections of farm output, farm production per unit of labor, and other indicated relationships materialize, average farm employment in 1980 would be about 3.6 million workers, a 30 per cent decrease over that for 1965. These decreases in farm employment are expected to occur because of large reductions in farm operators and family labor in the southern areas. While the overall need for farm labor will be less in the years ahead, there will be a demand for workers with higher skills for jobs which will require additional technical knowledge and judgment such as the operation and maintenance of increasingly complex farm machines and the proper application of agricultural chemicals with increasingly narrower tolerances.

Figure 4

Age Distribution
U. S. Farm Population
1920-1968



Source: Decennial Censuses: 1920-1960; Estimates of Farm Population 1961-1968 ERS Series (P-27, 1960-1968); Estimates of the Population of the U. S. by Age, Race, and Sex: July 1, 1968, Current Population Report, P-25, No. 416 (Feb. 17, 1969).

TABLE 4
Residence of Agriculture Workers and Hired Farm Workers
1960-1968
(000)

Year	Agric. Workers	% Living on Farms	Hired Workers	% Living on Farms
1960	5,395	74.6	3,693	n.a.
1961	5,547	72.4	3,488	n.a.
1962	5,291	71.1	3,622	n.a.
1963	5,065	68.2	3,597	35.0
1964	4,870	67.0	3,390	33.5
1965	4,719	66.9	3,128	29.8
1966	4,355	66.5	2,763	27.7
1967	4,144	64.6	3,078	26.4
1968	4,131	63.2	2,919	28.6
1960-68 % Change	-23.4	-35.2	-21.0	-33.6*

n.a. = not available

* 1963-1968

Source: Agriculture Workers: Annual Estimates of Farm Population, Census-ERS Series, P-27 (1960-1968)
Hired Workers: Hired Farm Working Force, Annual Economic Service Reports (1960-1968)

TABLE 5
Residence of Employed Labor Force*
1950 and 1960
(000)

Year	Total	Residence		
		Urban	Nonfarm	Farm
1950	6,705	313	780	5,612
1960	3,951	345	822	2,784
1950-60 % Change	-2,754	32	42	-2,828
1950	100.0	4.7	11.6	83.7
1960	100.0	8.7	20.8	70.5
1950-60 % Change	-41.1	10.2	5.4	-50.4

*includes farmers, farm managers, farm labor, unpaid family workers, farm foremen

Source: Detailed Characteristics for the U.S., Decennial Censuses; 1950: Table 126, p. 270;
1960: Table 203, p. 534.

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14. Speaking before Atlanta Kiwanis Club and reported by the *Atlanta Constitution* newspaper, December 10, 1969.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF OFF-FARM MOVEMENT OF FARM OPERATORS AND HIRED WORKERS TO THE GROWTH OF THE NONFARM LABOR FORCE IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY BETWEEN 1960 and 1965

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I

In this paper we trace the movement of the farm labor force of the Tennessee Valley region over the period 1960 through 1965 to determine what contribution, if any, farm operators and hired workers made to the growth of the nonfarm labor force. Although we are primarily concerned with persons remaining in the Tennessee Valley (i.e., non-migrants) who changed from the farm to the nonfarm sector or vice versa for their major source of income, we also discuss the geographic movement of persons who changed both sector and location of employment.

Historically it has been assumed that: (1) much of agriculture's low income problems in the United States, and the South in particular, were caused by excess human resources, which forced down the price of labor and/or earnings in farming in comparison to other industries; and (2) in order for "excess" human resources to transfer to the nonfarm sector, this sector would need to be expanding in order to provide employment and potentially higher earnings than in farming. The higher earnings potential in the nonfarm sector would supposedly thus draw off surplus farm labor and everyone would be "better off."

The decades of the 1940's and 1950's proved that excess labor could indeed be drawn out of agriculture, since literally millions did migrate from the farm to the city. Whether they were all "better off" is questionable in view of the high levels of unemployment within certain ethnic and economic groups and the general discontentment that plagued the 1960's.

The 1960's were also a decade of favorable conditions for off-farm movement, but it is now widely recognized that they were not characterized by the same scale of migration experienced earlier. The 1970's are still another question. To assist both urban and rural policy makers, we need to know what to expect from future migration. To determine this, we must analyze off-farm mobility and the ability of the farm labor force to adjust to changes in the demand for labor in the nonfarm sector.

II

The history of farm-to-nonfarm movement in the 1960's should provide a better guide to the 1970's than that of earlier years. Consequently, it is desirable to examine farm-to-nonfarm movement in the past decade to determine: (1) if farm-to-nonfarm movement is still an important demographic phenomenon; (2) how much net movement we can expect in the future; and (3) whether the age and income structure of those remaining in farm employment is such as to make it socially desirable to encourage further farm-to-nonfarm movement.

This paper provides some tentative answers to the above questions for the 201 counties in the Tennessee Valley region (figure 1), based on data from the 1-percent sample of Old Age and Survivors Disability and Health Insurance (OASDHI) records of the Social Security Administration's Continuous Work History file.[1] The nature of the data requires that we specify clearly some initial assumptions.

We define a person's major industry of employment as that in which he made the majority of his income within a single year. If, for example, a farm operator was also a part-time construction worker within a single year but made more money from farming than from construction, he would be classified as a farm operator in that year. Thus, we do not preclude multiple jobholding. All earnings for the year are totaled and allocated to the major industry of employment.[2] Geographic location is also determined on the basis of major industry of employment.

The assumption is examined that much of the surplus labor released from agriculture transfers to the nonfarm sector if that sector is expanding. If this assumption is valid, then substantial farm-to-nonfarm movement would be expected during the period between 1962 and 1965 when growth in employment was continuous both nationally and regionally. This would be particularly true in areas like the Tennessee Valley where most farms have sales of less than $5,000 of farm products per year. Conversely, less off-farm movement would be expected during periods of recession such as occurred in 1961.

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[1] Certain data used in this publication were derived from computer tapes furnished by the Social Security Administration. The authors did not at any time have access to, nor did they receive, any information relating to specific individuals or reporting units.

[2] This represents a departure from the usual form of farm employment analysis. It can be logically argued that if a person earns $5,000 from farming and $2,000 from construction work, he is justifiably designated a farmer rather than a construction worker, since farming provided his major source of income. Conversely, a person earning $5,000 from construction and $2,000 from farming is properly considered a construction worker even though he may continue to be a farm resident.

III

A previous study [1] of the farm labor force in the Tennessee Valley based on social security data found a significant net movement of persons back into agriculture from the nonfarm sector during 1957-59--a period of instability in the national economy. Our study shows that substantial back movement also occurred during the 1960-61 period. The number of farm operators changing from the nonfarm sector to the farm sector was greater than the number changing from the farm to the nonfarm sector during this period of recession (table 1).

In 1960 there were 95,000 farm operators in the 201 counties of the Tennessee Valley region.[1] During 1961, 12,900 persons entered the OASDHI-covered labor force as farm operators ("entrants"),[2] while 11,800 farm operators dropped out of the covered labor force ("retirees"). As a result, the farm sector gained a net of 1,100 farm operators. In addition, 500 persons left the military to become farm operators.

The number of farm operators increased also because of transfers from the nonfarm sector. Between 1960 and 1961, 9,200 persons changed their major source of income from the nonfarm sector to farming, while 6,800 farm operators changed to the nonfarm sector. This net back movement of 2,400 to the farm sector can be explained only by the fact that nonagricultural employment declined nationally between 1960 and 1961 [2].

During this same period, 5,800 farm operators outside the Tennessee Valley moved into the Tennessee Valley, while 1,400 persons moved their farming operations outside the Tennessee Valley--a net gain of 4,400 to Valley farms. Lastly, 400 hired farm workers changed to farm operator status, and 400 operators changed to hired farm worker status. The overall result was that the total number of farm operators under OASDHI coverage in the Tennessee Valley increased from 95,000 in 1960 to 103,400 in 1961.

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[1] In 1959 there were 332,743 farms in the Tennessee Valley region, of which 174,456 were classified as commercial operations according to the U. S. Census of Agriculture[3]. However, in this study we report only 95,000 farm operators in 1960 based on the OASDHI sample records. The difference is due to (a) limitations in the OASDHI coverage and (b) the fact that we have classified persons by major source of income rather than by the broader classification used by the Census of Agriculture.

[2] Entry and retirement refer to movements into and out of OASDHI-covered employment. For example, a person who is defined as a retiree has no covered employment in either the farm or the nonfarm sector during the whole year, i.e., has no OASDHI record for that year.

From 1961 to 1965, the number of farm operators decreased steadily, while at the same time nonfarm employment in the region and the Nation increased. With the exception of 1962-63--a period of relatively slow growth in nonfarm employment--the number of persons changing from farm operator to nonfarm employment exceeded the number changing from nonfarm employment to farming in any given pair of years. Thus, during the period 1960-65, net back movement to farming occurred only in the two years in which nonfarm employment declined or grew at a very slow rate.

Looking at the period between 1960 and 1965, we can see that the total number of farm operators changing to the nonfarm sector was almost equal to the number of persons changing from the nonfarm sector to farming. A total of 41,100 farm operators changed to a nonfarm occupation, whereas 39,700 persons changed from a nonfarm occupation to farm operator status as the major industry of employment. Thus, the net contribution of farm operators to the growth of the nonfarm labor force over the whole period was essentially zero.

Except for the years 1961 and 1963, economic conditions in the Tennessee Valley were favorable for transfer to the nonfarm sector. Although a considerable number of operators did transfer, the large back movement negated any significant transfer of persons to the nonfarm labor force. Back movement was particularly strong during the recession of 1961 and the slow growth year of 1963.

Retirement was a far more important factor in the decline in number of farm operators than were transfers to the nonfarm sector. A total of 68,900 operators retired, which was partly offset by the entry of 48,000 new operators, leaving a net of 20,900 retirees. The mean age of operators who retired was 60 years, which was much older than that for other industry groups, including hired agricultural workers. The advanced average age of farm operators in the Tennessee Valley is clearly the reason why retirement rather than transfer to the nonfarm sector was the major cause of a declining number of farm operators. It is also evident that retirement will be the main cause of declining farm numbers in the future, because the average age of OASDHI entrants as farm operators between 1960 and 1965 was 53.2 years--again considerably older than were entrants into any other industry sector, including agricultural workers. Such persons probably should be considered as entering or returning to farming for semiretirement purposes rather than for purposes of making their future economic livelihood.

IV

The picture for farm workers is different from farm operators in several respects. First, the number of farm workers in the Tennessee Valley region increased by 5,100 persons between 1960 and 1965 (table 2). This seems somewhat of a paradox in view of the decrease in number of farms. The most likely explanation is that unpaid family labor was replaced by hired workers; hence, although the number of farms has decreased and will continue to do so, the number of farm workers has not declined and probably will not as long as value of farm output is increasing.

Since farm workers are not unionized and farm work is open with respect to entry, hiring out as a farm worker offers rural persons an easy way to enter the work force. Becoming a hired farm laborer does not require advanced training or skills or capital; hence, it may also be attractive to persons who are unsuccessful in the nonfarm sector.

Since hired farm workers do not have fixed investments in land or equipment to tie them to farming and are younger than farm operators, transfer to the nonfarm sector is easier for them. During 1960-65 the number of hired farm workers changing to the nonfarm sector substantially exceeded the number of individuals transferring to the hired farm sector (table 2). The result is that farm work draws labor from outside the work force and releases experienced workers for nonfarm employment. Thus, it may be presumed that hired farm work constitutes a kind of training ground for persons entering the labor force without job experience.

Whereas years of recession and/or slow growth (1961 and 1963) were reflected to a large extent in increased back movement by farm operators, net back movement of hired farm workers occurred only in 1963. During 1962-63, the number of new entrants into the hired farm worker sector was highest, and the number changing to the nonfarm sector the lowest, of any of the years under study. Surprisingly, the recession period 1960-61 did not have so severe an effect on the farm worker sector as on the farm operator sector.

V

Not everyone who transferred from the farm to the nonfarm sector remained in the Tennessee Valley region, nor did everyone transferring from the nonfarm to the farm sector originate in the Tennessee Valley. Specifically, 8,000 of the 41,100 farm operators who transferred to the nonfarm sector between 1960 and 1965 migrated to a different geographic region (table 3). However, this out-migration was largely offset by the in-migration of 7,700 persons who left nonfarm employment outside the region to become farm operators within the Tennessee Valley during this period. Allowing for migration, the resulting net contribution of former farm operators to the growth of the nonfarm labor force amounted to only 1,100 persons or only 0.3 percent. In simple terms this means that although the number of farm operators in the Tennessee Valley declined by 18,500 between 1960 and 1965, this had almost no effect on the nonfarm labor force.

Former farm workers made a much larger contribution. After allowing for migration, the net contribution amounted to 9,400 former farm workers, or 2.8 percent of the growth in the nonfarm labor force during the period. Net out-migration of farm workers was also greater than that of farm operators--4,800 compared to only 300 operators. Rate of out-migration was substantially higher for farm workers than for farm operators. Approximately 30 percent of all farm workers transferring to the nonfarm sector also migrated to a different geographic region compared with less than 20 percent for farm operators.

VI

Even though the overall net contribution of farm operators to the Tennessee Valley nonfarm labor force was almost nil, it is possible that the effect of off-farm movement on specific sectors of the nonfarm economy could be substantial. This could occur if off-farm movers found employment in nonfarm industries different from those industries which provided a source of labor for the farm sector. In order to determine the effect of off-farm migration on individual nonfarm sectors, data on industrial origins and destinations of farm operators who changed their major source of income to or from nonfarm employment were examined in some detail. Because of data limitations, the analysis is confined to male farm operators. We distinguish between migrants and non-migrants since it is widely recognized that migration affects the range in employment opportunities.

Since industry of employment is based on major source of earnings, by our definition, it can be expected that some farm-to-nonfarm movement reflects the changing importance of sources of income of multiple jobholders rather than an explicit industrial transfer. This presents no problem if such changes are not biased to affect origins more than destinations or vice versa. We assume this to be the case.

Construction was the major industrial destination for outmigrants (table 4). A large number of persons also left construction in other areas to farm in the Tennessee Valley. For non-migrants, wholesale and retail trade was the major alternative to farm employment for both those leaving and entering the nonfarm sector.

It is interesting to note that agricultural services, forestry, and fisheries are significant nonfarm employment alternatives for non-migrants; whereas the data did not show even one example of a migrant moving to or from these categories. Thus it may be construed that jobs in agricultural services, forestry, and fisheries are generally available to or attractive alternatives for farm operators only when they are located in the immediate vicinity of their farming operations.

Rank correlation tests indicated significant correlations in the relative importance of industrial origins and destinations for both migrants and non-migrants. There was little gain or loss to individual industrial sectors from the shuttling of farm operators between the farm and the nonfarm sectors. In summary, job changes to and from farm operations do not have much net effect on the employment structure of the nonfarm economy.

VII

We now turn to an analysis of nonfarm origins and destinations of hired male farm workers. Farm workers are divided into two categories: Negro and non-Negro (white). The data support the generally recognized hypothesis that employment opportunities are wider for white than for black farm workers.

Analysis of Negro migrants was limited because of the relatively small number of in-migrant Negro farm workers (table 5). In contrast, the number of out-migrants was substantial. Construction was their major destination, followed closely by services and trade. No observations were reported for agricultural services, forestry, and fisheries, mining, or transportation, communication, and utilities.

For non-migrant Negro workers, wholesale and retail trade was the major origin and destination, followed by construction and low-wage manufacturing. In most cases, more hired farm workers transferred to a specific nonfarm industry than left that industry for farm work. A rank correlation test indicated no significant relation between origins and destinations of non-migrant Negro workers. Apparently Negro farm workers differed in this respect to a larger extent than did farmers.

The origins and destinations of white hired farm workers also differed significantly from those of Negro workers (table 6). The major difference was that manufacturing--particularly low-wage manufacturing--was a significant origin and destination for white workers, while it was of minor importance for black workers.

The only significant rank correlation for white farm workers was between the sources and destinations of non-migrants. This suggests substantial shuttling back and forth between the farm and nonfarm sectors for white workers within the region. As noted above, the number of white farm workers moving to specific nonfarm industries was larger than the number transferring from the nonfarm industry to farm work in most cases. On balance, the movement was thus strongly to the nonfarm sector.

VIII

We now wish to determine whether those persons transferring to the nonfarm sector profited by changing their major industry of employment. To do this, we compute the difference between earnings in the farm sector and earnings in the nonfarm sector in the following year. For our purposes, job mobility is considered upward when it represents an increase in income larger than that earned by those remaining in farm employment and downward when it results in an increase in income less than that experienced by those not changing sectors.

Transfers to the nonfarm sector by white farm operators were downward (unprofitable) during the years 1960 through 1963 and were also downward in all years but one for Negro operators. In other words, farm operators who transferred to the nonfarm sector experienced smaller increases in income in most years than did those who stayed in farming (table 7).

In contrast to farm operators, farm workers generally gained by transferring to the nonfarm sector. The only exception was in 1960-61 when recession conditions made off-farm movement unprofitable for white workers. Negro farm workers did not have this problem, or perhaps more likely, they found it secondary to the problem of finding a job at all.

A final question to answer is whether it was more profitable for those transferring from the farm sector also to migrate to a different region for employment. A comparison of income gains (or losses) of out-migrants and non-migrants indicates that the relative profitability of migration changed radically over the period (table 8). It was more profitable for white farm operators to migrate to a different region between 1960 and 1962 than in subsequent years. For farm workers, the picture is more complicated.

For Negro farm workers, migration to a different region was not profitable in 1960-61 but became highly advantageous in subsequent years. White farm workers increased incomes by migrating between 1960-61 and 1963-65, but not between 1961-63. Regardless of the reasons for this erratic behavior in income gains or losses, more significant is the fact that Negro workers made substantially larger income gains after 1961 through migration than did their white counterparts. This undoubtedly explains in part the net out-migration of Negro workers from the Tennessee Valley which was described in an earlier section (table 3).

IX

Since it has been well established that age affects migration [4], it is now desirable to examine the ages of migrants and non-movers. In particular, we wish to determine if age is at least partly responsible for (1) the relatively small income gains by Negro operators in comparison with white operators transferring to the nonfarm sector between 1963 and 1965 and (2) the relatively higher income gains by migrant Negro farm workers in comparison to their white counterparts between 1961 and 1965.

By comparing average age in the initial year of the move, it was found that Negro operators transferring to the nonfarm sector in the Tennessee Valley were considerably older than their white counterparts (table 9). The average age of white operators ranged from 46 to 51 years; whereas for Negro operators it ranged from 53 to 66 years. Thus, it may be concluded that age accounts for at least a part of the difference in the income differential found between Negro and non-Negro farm operators who transferred to the nonfarm sector.

Farm workers were substantially younger than farm operators. The average age of all farm workers moving to nonfarm jobs in the Tennessee Valley region was under 40 years. As would be expected, those workers who migrated to a different region were much younger than those who stayed in the Valley. The mean age of out-migrants typically ran about 30 years or less. Since there seemed to be little difference in age between Negro and non-Negro out-migrants, earning differentials cannot be attributed to difference in age.

Summary

Between 1960 and 1965, off-farm movement of OASDHI-covered farm operators that occurred in the Tennessee Valley region was largely offset by a countermovement of persons from nonfarm employment to farming. Transfers between the two sectors by farm operators followed the business cycle. The net contribution by farm operators to the growth of the nonfarm labor force was essentially zero. Retirement rather than off-farm transfers was a far more important factor in the decline in the number of farm operators.

Considering the advanced age of present farm operators, there is little reason to suggest that off-farm transfers will become more important in the 1970's. There is some reason to suspect that the future movement of farm operators to nonfarm employment will more strongly reflect opportunities in the nonfarm sector than it has in the past. White operators experienced positive income gains from off-farm transfers between 1963 and 1965 regardless of whether they changed geographic location. Unfortunately, the future for Negro farm operators is clouded by advanced age and an apparent lack of employment opportunities.

In contrast to farm operators, the number of OASDHI-covered farm workers increased between 1960 and 1965. Farm work offers an opportunity for employment to those without job experience and a base for advancement to off-farm jobs once such experience has been gained. This is true for both blacks and whites, which is especially encouraging.

The evidence in this study suggests that at least the OASDHI-covered portion of the farm labor force is experiencing a period of greater stability and more rational migration and off-farm movement than may have been the case in the 1940's and 1950's. This is indeed good news for both urban and rural policy makers.

It appears that at least in the Tennessee Valley region, the main contribution of the farm labor force to future nonfarm employment growth will result from the use of farm work as a training ground for upward mobile workers with little or no useful job experience prior to farm employment. Policies which encourage this use of farm employment should be promoted.

The downward adjustment in the number of farm operators through aging will continue with the social problems which necessarily accompany such a process of attrition. The surplus farm operator problem will thus remain, regardless of what happens in the nonfarm sector. Reduction of surplus labor by encouraging earlier retirement of farm operators is possible, but the case for such policies rests on other assumptions than those postulated at the beginning of this paper.

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FIGURE I
201 TENNESSEE VALLEY COUNTIES

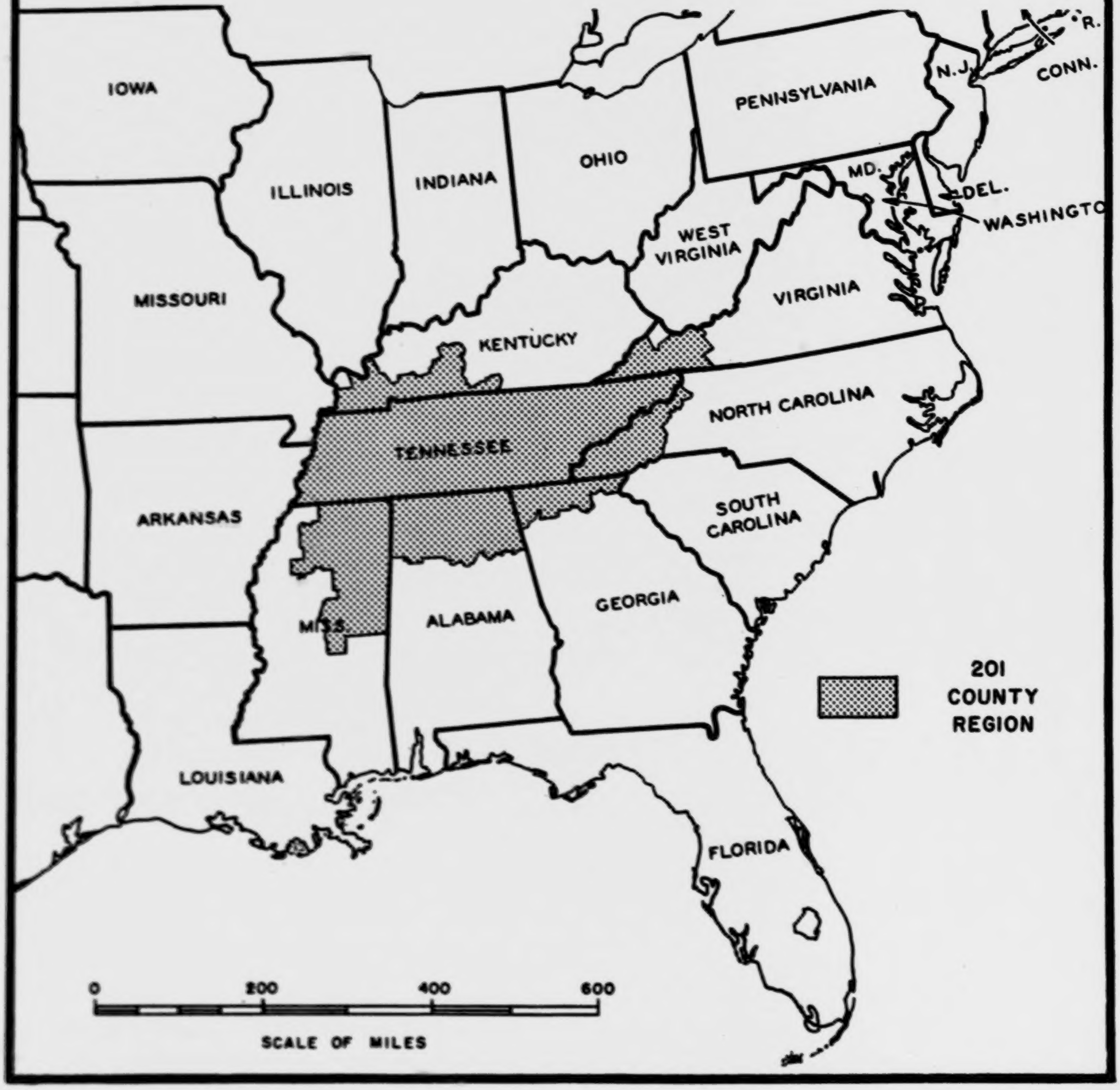
IOWA
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
PENNSYLVANIA
N.J.
CONN.
R.
MD.
DEL.
WASHINGTO
WEST VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
ARKANSAS
SOUTH CAROLINA
MISS.
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
LOUISIANA
FLORIDA
201 COUNTY REGION
0
200
400
600
SCALE OF MILES

Table 1

CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF FARM OPERATORS IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY REGION BY SEX AND RACE, 1960-65

Factors Causing Change	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1960-65
Farm Operators (Male, Non-Negro)							
Reporting previous year	---	84,700	91,500	80,300	78,900	71,400	--
Number of retirees	--	- 9,800	-15,400	-11,100	-12,000	- 7,800	-56,100
Number of entrants	--	10,500	7,100	10,400	5,200	6,100	39,300
Net entrants or retirees	--	700	- 8,300	- 700	- 6,800	- 1,700	-16,800
Number changing from farm to military	--	0	--	0	--	--	0
Number changing from military to farm	--	500	--	100	--	--	600
	--	500	--	100	--	--	600
Total number changing to nonfarm sector	--	- 6,400	- 8,900	- 8,200	- 7,400	- 6,900	-37,800
Total number changing from nonfarm sector to farming	--	8,600	6,500	7,900	7,200	6,100	36,300
Net change to or from nonfarm sector	--	2,200	- 2,400	- 300	- 200	- 800	- 1,500
Number remaining in farming but moved outside Tennessee Valley	--	- 1,000	- 1,100	- 1,700	- 1,300	- 500	- 5,600
Number transferring into Tennessee Valley	--	4,700	1,000	1,100	1,000	500	8,300
Net moving farming operation	--	3,700	- 100	- 600	- 300	0	2,700
Number changing from farm operator to farm worker	--	- 200	- 1,000	- 500	- 600	- 200	- 2,500
Number changing from farm worker to farm operator	--	400	600	700	400	200	2,300
Net changing to farm worker or farm operator	--	200	- 400	200	- 200	0	- 200
Total	84,700	91,500	80,300	78,900	71,400	68,900	--
Net change in number of farm operators, 1960-65	--	--	--	--	--	--	-15,800

Table 1 (Continued)

Factors Causing Change	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1960-65
Farm Operators (Male, Negro)							
Reporting previous year	--	3,400	3,300	3,200	3,000	2,500	--
Number of retirees	--	- 800	- 800	- 700	- 700	- 600	-3,600
Number of entrants	--	400	700	700	400	200	2,400
Net entrants or retirees	--	- 400	- 100	0	- 300	- 400	1,200
Number changing from farm to military	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Number changing from military to farm	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total number changing to nonfarm sector	--	- 100	- 400	- 100	- 500	- 400	-1,500
Total number changing from nonfarm sector to farming	-- --	300	100	100	100	400	1,000
Net change to or from nonfarm sector	--	200	- 300	0	- 400	0	500
Number remaining in farming but moved outside Tennessee Valley	--	- 200	0	- 100	0	0	- 300
Number transferring into Tennessee Valley	--	500	100	0	0	0	600
Net moving farming operation	--	300	100	- 100	0	0	300
Number changing from farm operator to farm worker	--	- 200	0	- 100	0	- 300	- 600
Number changing from farm worker to farm operator	--	0	200	0	200	100	500
Net changing to farm worker or farm operator	--	- 200	200	- 100	200	- 200	- 100
Total	3,400	3,300	3,200	3,000	2,500	1,900	--
Net change in number of farm operators, 1960-65	--	--	--	--	--	--	-1,500

Table 1 (Continued)

Factors Causing Change	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1960-65
Farm Operators (Female, Non-Negro)							
Reporting previous year	--	6,200	7,300	6,300	6,000	5,100	0
Number of retirees	--	-1,100	-2,300	-1,700	-1,800	-1,200	-8,100
Number of entrants	--	1,800	1,600	1,000	800	500	5,700
Net entrants or retirees		700	- 700	- 700	-1,000	- 700	-2,400
Total number changing to nonfarm sector	--	- 300	- 600	- 400	- 500	0	-1,800
Total number changing from nonfarm sector to farming	--	300	400	800	400	400	2,300
Net change to or from nonfarm sector	--	--	- 200	400	- 100	400	500
Number remaining in farming but moved outside Tennessee Valley	--	- 200	- 200	- 100	0	- 100	- 600
Number transferring into Tennessee Valley	--	600	100	100	200	100	1,100
Net moving farming operation	--	400	- 100	0	200	0	500
Number changing from farm operator to farm worker	--	--	--	--	- 100	--	- 100
Number changing from farm worker to farm operator	--	--	--	--	100	--	100
Net changing to farm worker or farm operator	--	--	--	--	0	--	
Total	6,200	7,300	6,300	6,000	5,100	4,800	--
Net change in number of farm operators, 1960-65	--	--	--	--	--	--	-1,400

Table 1 (Continued)

Factors Causing Change	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1960-65
Farm Operators (Female, Negro)							
Reporting previous year	--	700	800	600	700	500	--
Number of retirees	--	-100	-300	-200	-300	-200	-1,100
Number of entrants	---	200	100	200	100	0	600
Net entrants or retirees	--	100	-200	0	-200	-200	- 500
Total number changing to nonfarm sector	--	--	--	0	--	--	0
Total number changing from nonfarm sector to farming	--	--	--	100	--	--	100
Net change to or from nonfarm sector	--	--	--	100	--	--	100
Number remaining in farming but moved outside Tennessee Valley	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Number transferring into Tennessee Valley	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Net moving farming operation	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Number changing from farm operator to farm worker	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Number changing from farm worker to farm operator	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Net changing to farm worker or farm operator	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	700	800	600	700	500	300	--
Net change in number of farm operators, 1960-65	--	--	--	--	--	--	-400

Table 1 (Continued)

Factors Causing Change	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1960-65
All Farm Operators							
Reporting previous year	--	95,000	103,400	90,900	89,200	80,100	--
Number of retirees	--	-11,800	-18,800	-13,700	-14,800	- 9,800	-68,900
Number of entrants	--	12,900	9,500	12,300	6,500	6,800	48,000
Net entrants or retirees	--	1,100	- 9,300	- 1,400	- 8,300	- 3,000	-20,900
Number changing from farm to military	--	0	--	0	--	--	0
Number changing from military to farm	--	500	--	100	--	--	600
Net changing to or from military	--	500	--	100	--	--	600
Total number changing to nonfarm sector	--	- 6,800	- 9,900	- 8,700	- 8,400	- 7,300	-41,100
Total number changing from nonfarm sector to farming	--	9,200	7,000	8,900	7,700	6,900	39,700
Net change to or from nonfarm sector	--	2,400	- 2,900	200	- 700	- 400	- 1,400
Number remaining in farming but moved outside Tennessee Valley	--	- 1,400	- 1,300	- 1,900	- 1,300	- 600	- 6,500
Number transferring into Tennessee Valley	--	5,800	1,200	1,200	1,200	600	10,000
Net moving farming operation	--	4,400	- 100	- 700	- 100	0	3,500
Number changing from farm operator to farm worker	--	- 400	- 1,000	- 600	- 700	- 500	- 3,200
Number changing from farm worker to farm operator	--	400	800	700	700	300	2,900
Net changing to farm worker or farm operator	--	0	- 200	100	0	- 200	- 300
Total	95,000	103,400	90,900	89,200	80,100	76,500	--
Net change in the total number of farm operators in the Tennessee Valley region, 1960-65	--	--	--	--	--	--	-18,500

Source: OASDHI Sample Data

Table 2

CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF FARM WORKERS IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY REGION BY SEX AND RACE, 1960-65

Factors Causing Change	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1960-65
Farm Workers (Male, Non-Negro)							
Reporting previous year	--	22,500	22,500	23,400	25,900	26,500	--
Number of retirees	--	-4,200	-3,100	-2,800	-2,700	-3,100	-15,900
Number of entrants	--	5,700	5,000	5,900	5,100	5,300	27,000
Net entrants or retirees	--	1,500	1,900	3,100	2,400	2,200	11,100
Number changing from farm work to military	--	- 300	- 200	- 400	- 500	- 200	-1,600
Number changing from military to farm work	--	0	0	300	100	0	400
	--	- 300	- 200	- 100	- 400	- 200	-1,200
Total number changing to nonfarm sector	--	-5,100	-5,000	-4,300	-6,100	-6,700	-27,200
Total number changing from nonfarm sector to farm work	-- --	3,400	3,100	4,000	3,700	3,700	17,900
Net change to or from nonfarm sector	--	-1,700	-1,900	- 300	-2,400	-3,000	-9,300
Number remaining in farm work but moved outside Tennessee Valley	--	- 600	- 100	- 500	- 600	- 400	-2,200
Number transferring into Tennessee Valley	--	1,000	700	400	1,000	300	3,400
Net changing location of farm work	--	400	600	- 100	400	- 100	1,200
Number changing from farm worker to farm operator	--	- 400	- 600	- 700	- 400	- 200	-2,300
Number changing from farm operator to farm worker	--	200	900	500	600	200	2,400
Net changing to farm worker or farm operator	--	- 200	300	- 200	200	0	100
Total	22,500	22,500	23,400	25,900	26,500	25,600	--
Net change in number of farm workers, 1960-65	--	--	--	--	--	--	3,100

Table 2 (Continued)

Factors Causing Change	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1960-65
Farm Workers (Male, Negro)							
Reporting previous year	--	10,900	12,100	12,000	13,800	13,800	--
Number of retirees	--	-1,700	-2,300	-1,800	-1,300	-1,600	-8,700
Number of entrants	--	2,800	2,800	3,300	3,000	1,800	13,700
Net entrants or retirees	--	1,100	500	1,500	1,700	200	5,000
Number changing from farm work to military	--	--	- 100	--	--	--	- 100
Number changing from military to farm work	--	--	0	--	--	--	0
	--	--	- 100	--	--	--	- 100
Total number changing to nonfarm sector	--	-1,200	-1,300	-1,400	-3,000	-2,900	-9,800
Total number changing from nonfarm sector to farm work	--	1,000	900	1,500	1,400	1,000	5,800
Net change to or from nonfarm sector	--	- 200	- 400	100	-1,600	-1,900	-4,000
Number remaining in farm work but moved outside Tennessee Valley	--	- 200	- 200	- 200	- 100	- 200	- 900
Number transferring into Tennessee Valley	--	300	200	300	200	400	1,400
Net changing location of farm work	--	100	0	100	100	200	500
Number changing from farm worker to farm operator	--	200	0	100	0	300	600
Number changing from farm operator to farm worker	--	0	- 200	0	- 200	- 100	- 500
Net changing to farm worker or farm operator	--	200	- 200	100	- 200	200	100
Total	10,900	12,100	12,000	13,800	13,800	12,500	--
Net change in number of farm workers, 1960-65	--	--	--	--	--	--	1,600

Table 2 (Continued)

Factors Causing Change	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1960-65
Farm Workers (Female, Non-Negro)							
Reporting previous year	--	2,800	3,600	3,700	3,700	3,900	--
Number of retirees	--	- 600	-1,000	-1,200	- 700	-1,100	-4,600
Number of entrants	--	1,500	1,400	1,100	1,100	600	5,700
Net entrants or retirees	--	900	400	- 100	400	- 500	1,100
Total number changing to nonfarm sector	--	- 300	- 400	- 600	- 400	- 200	-1,900
Total number changing from nonfarm sector to farm work	--	300	100	600	300	300	1,600
Net change to or from nonfarm sector	--	0	- 300	0	- 100	100	- 300
Number remaining in farm work but moved outside Tennessee Valley	--	- 100	--	0	- 100	- 100	- 300
Number transferring into Tennessee Valley	--	0	--	100	100	100	300
Net changing location of farm work	--	- 100	--	100	0	0	0
Number changing from farm worker to farm operator	--	--	--	--	0	--	0
Number changing from farm operator to farm worker	--	--	--	--	- 100	--	- 100
Net changing to farm worker or farm operator	--	--	--	--	- 100	--	- 100
Total	2,800	3,600	3,700	3,700	3,900	3,500	--
Net change in number of farm workers, 1960-65	--	--	--	--	--	--	700

Table 2 (Continued)

Factors Causing Change	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1960-65
Farm Workers (Female, Negro)							
Reporting previous year	--	1,400	1,400	1,700	2,900	2,800	--
Number of retirees	--	- 500	- 400	- 200	- 500	- 800	-2,400
Number of entrants	--	700	900	1,000	800	700	4,100
Net entrants or retirees	--	200	500	800	300	- 100	1,700
Total number changing to nonfarm sector	--	--	- 200	0	- 300	- 400	- 900
Total number changing from nonfarm sector to farm work	--	--	0	300	0	0	300
Net change to or from nonfarm sector	--	--	- 200	300	- 300	- 400	- 600
Number remaining in farm work but moved outside Tennessee Valley	--	- 200	- 100	0	- 100	- 100	- 500
Number transferring into Tennessee Valley	--	0	100	100	0	200	400
Net changing location of farm work	--	- 200	0	100	- 100	100	- 100
Number changing from farm worker to farm operator	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Number changing from farm operator to farm worker	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Net changing to farm worker or farm operator	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	1,400	1,400	1,700	2,900	2,800	2,400	--
Net change in number of farm workers, 1960-65	--	--	--	--	--	--	1,000

Table 2 (Continued)

Factors Causing Change	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1960-65
All Farm Workers							
Reporting previous year	--	37,600	39,300	40,200	45,600	45,900	--
Number of retirees	--	- 7,000	- 6,800	- 6,000	- 5,200	- 6,600	-31,600
Number of entrants	--	10,700	10,100	11,300	10,000	8,400	50,500
Net entrants or retirees	--	3,700	3,300	5,300	4,800	1,800	18,900
Number changing from farm work to military	--	- 300	- 300	- 400	- 500	- 200	- 1,700
Number changing from military to farm work	--	0	0	300	100	0	400
Net changing to or from military	--	- 300	- 300	- 100	- 400	- 200	- 1,300
Total number changing to nonfarm sector	--	- 6,600	- 6,900	- 6,300	- 9,800	-10,200	-39,800
Total number changing from nonfarm sector to farm work	--	4,700	4,100	6,400	5,400	5,000	25,600
Net change to or from nonfarm sector	--	- 1,900	- 2,800	100	- 4,400	- 5,200	-14,200
Number remaining in farm work but moved outside Tennessee Valley	--	- 1,100	- 400	- 700	- 900	- 800	- 3,900
Number transferring into Tennessee Valley	--	1,300	1,000	900	1,300	1,000	5,500
Net changing location of farm work	--	200	600	200	400	200	1,600
Number changing from farm worker to farm operator	--	400	900	600	600	500	3,000
Number changing from farm operator to farm worker	--	- 400	- 800	- 700	- 700	- 300	- 2,900
Net changing to farm worker or farm operator	--	0	100	- 100	- 100	200	100
Total	37,600	39,300	40,200	45,600	45,900	42,700	--
Net change in the total number of farm workers in the Tennessee Valley region, 1960-65	--	--	--	--	--	--	5,100

Source: OASDHI Sample Data

Table 3

NET CONTRIBUTION OF FARM PERSONS TO THE GROWTH IN THE NONFARM LABOR FORCE OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY REGION, 1960-65

Elements	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1960-65
Farm Operators						
Number moving to nonfarm sector	6,800	9,900	8,700	8,400	7,300	41,100
Less out-migrants	-1,100	-2,200	-1,600	-1,500	-1,600	-8,000
Plus in-migrants	1,600	1,000	2,400	1,500	1,200	7,700
Less number moving to farm sector	-9,200	-7,000	-8,900	-7,700	-6,900	-39,700
Net contribution to nonfarm labor force	-1,900	1,700	600	700	--	1,100
Growth in nonfarm labor force	9,600	77,400	46,600	85,700	119,200	338,500
Net contribution as percent of total nonfarm labor force	-19.8%	2.2%	1.3%	.8%	--	.3%
Farm Workers						
Number moving to nonfarm sector	6,600	6,900	6,300	9,800	10,200	39,800
Less out-migrants	-2,000	-2,100	-2,300	-3,100	-2,500	-12,000
Plus in-migrants	1,500	1,200	2,000	1,000	1,500	7,200
Less number moving to farm sector	-4,700	-4,100	-6,400	-5,400	-5,000	-25,600
Net contribution to nonfarm labor force	1,400	1,900	- 400	2,300	4,200	9,400
Growth in nonfarm labor force	9,600	77,400	46,600	85,700	119,200	338,500
Net contribution as percent of total nonfarm labor force	14.6%	2.4%	- .9%	2.7%	3.5%	2.8%
Total Net Contribution (operator plus worker)	- 500	3,600	200	3,000	4,200	10,500
Total proportion of growth in the nonfarm labor force due to farm operator plus farm worker	-5.2%	4.6%	.4%	3.5%	3.5%	3.1%

Source: OASDHI Sample Data

Table 4

NONFARM INDUSTRIAL ORIGIN OR DESTINATION OF MALES CHANGING TO OR FROM FARM OPERATOR STATUS WITHIN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY REGION, 1960-1965

Nonfarm Industry	Migrants				Non-Migrants			
	Out-Migrants (Leaving Farming)		In-Migrants (Entering Farming)		Changing from Farm Operator		Changing to Farm Operator	
	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank
Agricultural Services, Forestry, and Fisheries	0	11	0	11	2,400	5*	2,500	5
Mining	0	11	0	11	200	12	300	12
Construction	1,900	2	1,400	2*	4,300	3*	4,700	3
High Wage Manufacturing	700	5	300	6*	900	10*	1,000	10
Medium Wage Manufacturing	600	6	600	4	900	10*	800	11
Low Wage Manufacturing	300	7*	300	6*	2,100	7	2,200	6
Transportation, Communication, and Utilities	300	7*	300	6*	2,400	5*	1,400	7
Wholesale and Retail Trade	800	4	500	5	6,300	1	6,800	1
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	200	10	300	6*	1,100	9	1,300	8
Services	300	7*	200	10	4,300	3*	3,400	4
Government	1,100	3	1,600	1	5,400	2	4,800	2
Unknown & other	1,200	2	1,400	2*	1,500	8	1,200	9
Total	7,400		6,900		31,800		30,400	

Source: OASDHI Sample Data

*Indicates tie between two or more industries.

Table 5

NONFARM INDUSTRIAL ORIGIN OR DESTINATION OF NEGRO MALES CHANGING TO OR FROM FARM WORKER STATUS WITHIN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY REGION, 1960-1965

Nonfarm Industry	Migrants				Non-Migrants			
	Out-Migrants (Leaving Farming)		In-Migrants (Entering Farming)		Changing from Farm Worker		Changing to Farm Worker	
	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank
Agricultural Services, Forestry, and Fisheries	0	9*	0	6*	300	6*	0	10*
Mining	0	9*	0	6*	100	10*	0	10*
Construction	1,000	1	500	1	1,400	2	900	2
High Wage Manufacturing	300	5*	0	6*	300	6*	0	10*
Medium Wage Manufacturing	300	5*	0	6*	300	6*	300	5
Low Wage Manufacturing	200	7	0	6*	700	3	600	3
Transportation, Communication, and Utilities	0	9*	200	4	600	4	100	7*
Wholesale and Retail Trade	600	3	400	2	1,600	1	1,600	1
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	100	8	0	6*	100	10*	100	7*
Services	700	2	300	3	500	5	200	6
Government	400	4	0	6*	300	6*	400	4
Unknown & other	0	9*	100	5	0	12	100	7*
Total	3,600		1,500		6,200		4,300	

Source: OASDHI Sample Data

*Indicates tie between two or more industries.

Table 6

NONFARM INDUSTRIAL ORIGIN OR DESTINATION OF NON-NEGRO MALES CHANGING TO OR FROM FARM WORKER STATUS WITHIN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY REGION, 1960-1965

Nonfarm Industry	Migrants				Non-Migrants			
	Out-Migrants (Leaving Farming)		In-Migrants (Entering Farming)		Changing from Farm Worker		Changing to Farm Worker	
	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank
Agricultural Services, Forestry, and Fisheries	400	6	0	11*	800	8	200	10*
Mining	300	8	300	6	200	12	0	12
Construction	1,400	1	1,100	1	4,200	1	2,200	2
High Wage Manufacturing	200	10	200	8	700	9	700	6*
Medium Wage Manufacturing	800	5	800	2*	2,100	4	1,800	3*
Low Wage Manufacturing	1,100	3	800	2*	3,000	3	1,800	3*
Transportation, Communication, and Utilities	300	8	0	11*	1,300	6	600	8
Wholesale and Retail Trade	1,300	2	700	4	4,100	2	3,300	1
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	200	11	100	9	300	10*	200	10*
Services	400	6	300	6	1,200	7	700	6*
Government	1,100	3	600	5	1,400	5	1,000	5
Unknown & other	100	12	100	10	300	10*	300	9
Total	7,600		5,000		19,600		12,800	

Source: OASDHI Sample Data

*Indicates tie between two or more industries.

Table 7

INCOME GAINS (OR LOSSES) EXPERIENCED BY NON-MIGRANT FARM WORKERS AND FARM OPERATORS TRANSFERRING TO NONFARM EMPLOYMENT OR REMAINING IN FARM EMPLOYMENT IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY REGION, 1960-1965

Class	1960-1961	1961-1962	1962-1963	1963-1964	1964-1965
			(dollars)		
Farm Operators (Male, Non-Negro)					
Transferring to nonfarm sector	- 79	-164	- 33	731	264
Remaining in farm sector	285	40	198	108	342
Difference in income	-364	-204	-231	623	- 78
Farm Operators (Male, Negro)					
Transferring to nonfarm sector	-468	105	-472	-631	-192
Remaining in farm sector	27	- 40	161	-278	- 2
Difference in income	-495	145	-633	-353	-190
Farm Worker (Male, Non-Negro)					
Transferring to nonfarm sector	34	669	480	366	545
Remaining in farm sector	128	263	116	156	119
Difference in income	- 94	406	364	210	426
Farm Worker (Male, Negro)					
Transferring to nonfarm sector	484	203	724	512	310
Remaining in farm sector	23	68	54	121	123
Difference in income	461	135	670	391	187

Source: OASDHI Sample Data

Table 8

INCOME GAINS (OR LOSSES) EXPERIENCED BY OUT-MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS TRANSFERRING FROM FARM EMPLOYMENT IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY REGION TO NONFARM EMPLOYMENT, 1960-1965

Class	1960-1961	1961-1962	1962-1963 (dollars)	1963-1964	1964-1965
Farm Operators (Male, Non-Negro)					
Out-Migrants	1,133	867	- 695	608	395
Non-Migrants	- 79	- 164	- 33	731	264
Difference in income	1,212	1,031	- 662	- 123	131
Farm Operators (Male, Negro)					
Out-Migrants	--	-1,057	--	-1,344	--
Non-Migrants	- 468	105	- 472	- 631	- 192
Difference in income	--	-1,162	--	- 713	--
Farm Worker (Male, Non-Negro)					
Out-Migrants	297	539	35	469	942
Non-Migrants	34	669	480	366	545
Difference in income	263	- 130	- 445	103	397
Farm Worker (Male, Negro)					
Out-Migrants	- 165	1,085	791	854	1,222
Non-Migrants	484	203	724	512	310
Difference in income	- 649	882	67	342	912

Source: OASDHI Sample Data

Table 9

MEAN AGE OF FARM OPERATORS AND FARM WORKERS IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY REGION CHANGING TO NONFARM EMPLOYMENT, 1960-1965

Class	1960-1961	1961-1962	1962-1963 (years)	1963-1964	1964-1965
Farm Operators (Male, Non-Negro)					
Out-Migrants	47	45	43	47	41
Non-Migrants	51	48	46	47	47
Farm Operators (Male, Negro)					
Out-Migrants	--	63	--	61	--
Non-Migrants	66	58	58	58	53
Farm Workers (Male, Non-Negro)					
Out-Migrants	27	23	32	29	24
Non-Migrants	34	36	36	35	33
Farm Workers (Male, Negro)					
Out-Migrants	25	31	26	31	28
Non-Migrants	36	42	32	30	29

Source: OASDHI Sample Data

Geographical Distance and Aged Parental Expectations of Their Children

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Introduction

"Absence makes the heart grow fonder" is an adage usually reserved for young lovers enthralled with the fires of romance. In theory this statement postulates that distance increases devotion, but the more cynical add that the increased devotion is directed toward someone else. Whether or not the excitement of romantic love increases despite physical separation, we shall leave to the lovers involved. Our question, while interested in absence and its effect upon the heart's desire, is directed toward a different age status and a different kind of expectation. Specifically, we are concerned with the expectations which older persons have toward their adult children. We are asking whether or not there is significant decrease in the type or intensity of these expectations when the parent is separated by relatively great geographical distance from the child.

Theoretical Frame of Reference

Studies of the family in the thirties, forties, and fifties were marked by predictions of the demise of the extended family and its replacement with the isolated nuclear family. The writings of Sorokin, Parsons, Linton, Wirth, and Homans[1] may be offered as evidence that social scientists were convinced, in Sorokin's words, that "The main sociocultural functions of the family will further decrease, until the family becomes a mere incidental cohabitation of male and female, while the home will become a mere overnight parking place mainly for sex relationships."[2]

Migration patterns, demanded by an industrializing society, were most frequently listed as the culprit in the disintegration of the extended family. Migration not only moved young adults from the community in which they were reared but left the older generation isolated both physically and emotionally. Prognostications, as well as descriptions of existing conditions of family structure, were pessimistic in their orientation. In Homan's words:

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[1] See, Pitirim A. Sorokin, Social and Cultural Dynamics, (New York: American Book Company, 1937) Vol. IV; Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," American Sociological Review, 7 (1942), 604-616; and "The Social Structure of the Family," in Ruth N. Anshen (ed.), The Family: Its Function and Destiny (New York: Harper, 1949); Ralph Linton, "The Natural History of the Family" in Ruth Anshen, op. cit.; Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, 44 (1938), 1-24; and George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1950).

[2] Sorokin, op. cit. p. 776.

> The kinship extensions so characteristic of old-fashioned society all over the world have dissolved as there have been fewer occasions to use them . . . .
> The nuclear family first left the household and then even the neighborhood of other kinsmen . . . The old people are shipped off on government pensions to homes for the aged, where they live as querulous outcasts, no longer having the security that comes from living with one's friends and doing, to the very end of one's life, some work to help them.[3]

The sixties saw a new emphasis in studies of family structure. Evidence was gathered which pointed to closer relations between generations than was suspected. Sussman and Burchinal posited an "academic 'cultural lag' between antiquated nuclear family theory and empirical reality."[4] Jan Stehouwer notes that an industrialized society offers means of communication which have a tendency to obviate the effects of migration. "What is found between generations is 'intimacy' at a distance rather than isolation."[5] Eugene Litwak, in writing about extended family cohesion--as over against extended family anomie--opts for the fromer and speaks of a "modified extended family." He concludes, "The data presented here . . . . . demonstrate that persons separated from their families retained their extended family orientation."[6] Separation by geographical distance, it was postulated does not negate the possibility or probability of rights and responsibilities which extend beyond the nuclear family.

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[3] Homans, op. cit., p. 279.

[4] Marvin B. Sussman and Lee Burchinal, "Reappraising Kin Network in Urban Society." Paper prepared for the Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Washington D. C., 1962. See also, Marvin B. Sussman, "The Isolated Nuclear Family: Fact or Fiction" in Marvin B. Sussman, Sourcebook in Marriage and the Family (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), pp. 89-94.

[5] Jan Stehouwer, "The Household and Family Relations of Old People," in Ethel Shanas, et al., Old People in Three Industrial Societies (New York: Atherton Press, 1968), pp. 179-180.

[6] Eugene Litwak, "Geographic Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion," in John N. Edwards (ed.), The Family and Change (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), pp. 84-85.

Alvin Schorr[7] notes that parental expectations may be divided into two basic categories: 1) Material expectations, which includes financial aid and housing, and 2) affective expectations to be expressed by physical contact or communication by phone, letter, etc. He avers that the giving of cash reflects a feeling on the part of the child that some economic excess exists which may be shared. Living together reflects a response to the need of the parent resorted to only when no economic aid may be offered.[8] Whether cash to meet life's needs or a place to live is offered by the adult child appears to be related to the socio-economic level of the persons involved. Among families with lower income, there is substantially more intergenerational living, and this figure declines as income increases.[9] Schorr concludes that physical isolation should not justify social isolation. That is, Schorr says, parents continue to expect their children to respond to their material and emotional needs.[10]

This study was designed to test Schorr's assumption. The research question is: Do the expectations of aged parents toward their adult children diminish when the children are separated by geographical distance from the parents? The hypothesis is that there is no reduction in parental expectations.

Research Design

To text this hypothesis, an interview schedule was developed and administered to 294 persons sixty years of age and over in East Feliciana Parish (county) and Orleans Parish in the state of Louisiana. The former is categorized as a rural parish (no township with a population larger than 2,500) and the latter is coextensive with the city of New Orleans. None of the respondents was a resident in a home for the aged or a similar agency and all were relatively healthy, mentally and physically. The mean age was sixty-eight, and eighty-five were found to be childless. Sixty percent of the sample was drawn from the urban population. Whites represented fifty-nine percent of the sample and non-whites constituted the remaining forty-one percent. Forty-four percent of the respondents were married with a living spouse. Forty-two percent were widowed and the remaining twelve percent were divorced or had never been married. In no case was more than one person over sixty living in the same house interviewed.

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[7] Alvin Schorr, Filial Responsibility in the Modern American Family, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Division of Program Research, p. 15.

[8] *Ibid*., p. 10.

[9] *Ibid*., p. 9. See also, Ethel Shanas, "The Family and Social Class," in Ethel Shanas, *et al*., *op. cit*., p. 236. Shanas posits that "Elderly couples with a white collar background are far more likely than those with either working class or agricultural background to live apart from their children." This fact, she avers, is true in Britain and Denmark, as well as the United States.

[10] Schorr, *op. cit*., p. 10.

Data collected included information on the number of living children each person had and the distance in miles that each child lived from the parent. Each interviewee was asked to respond to a set of questions concerned with appropriate or expected behavior of his children regarding himself. Those questions had to do with expectations of financial aid; advice on the use of time, use of money, and living arrangements: willingness to live with children; visitation of child with the parent; care during illness of parent; and the appropriateness of the parent expecting attention in the form of letters, phone calls, and gifts.

The respondents were divided into two categories with reference to the distance their children lived from them: 1) Those parents who had at least one child living within thirty-five miles were classified "proximal." 2) Those parents who had no child living closer than thirty-five miles were considered "non-proximal." A Likert scale was generated from the set of questions on parental expectations, and respondents were divided into two groups: 1) Those with high expectations and 2) Those with low expectations. Difference of means tests were used to discern the association between proximity and expectation levels.

It was also deemed advisable to look directly at each question asked about expectations. Chi square tests were used to test for the significance of the relationship between proximity and responses to each of the questions.

Findings

After dividing the sample into categories of high and low expectations, a difference of means test was used to determine the relationship of geographical distance to expectation levels. This test resulted in a z score of only .1008. When the data were analyzed according to rural or urban place of parental residence, an interesting finding was noted. For the urban group, the z score derived from a difference of means test was significant at the .05 level (z=1.679). The z score for the rural group not only was not significant, it was negative. This finding seems to indicate that geographical distance not only does not decrease parental expectations, it increases expectations for rural people.

Expectations were then divided into three categories: 1) Those types of expectations which may be met by some type of long distance communication, i.e., the children are not handicapped in fulfilling the expectations by the geographical distance involved. This category included questions on parental expectations of financial aid, advice on use of time and use of money, and desire for attention through cards, letters, phone calls, and gifts. 2) The second category was made up of expectations for which the necessity of physical propinquity is equivocal. At this point major interest was in gaining information on the aged person's expectations of living with their children, paying them rent for a place to live, and expectations regarding living in a home for the aged. 3) The last category has reference to expectations which demand physical propinquity to be met. Actual visits of the child to the parent's home and the parent's belief that it is the child's responsibility to take care of the parent when ill were focal interests at this point.

Category I Analysis of the data revealed that expectations which may be met through some type of long distance communication do not, for the most part, decline as geographical distance increases. Aged parents do not appear to be less willing to accept financial aid and do not seem to be less receptive to advice on use of money or use of time no matter where their children live. However, their expectations of personal attention through cards, letters, calls, and gifts is related to the distance their children live from them. As might be predicted, these expectations increase as geographical distance increases, especially among urban parents. (See Table I.)

Category II Those expectations which may or may not be related to physical propinquity appear to show no relationship to geographical distance. Parental desire to live with their children, to pay them rent or buy their own food if they do, or willingness to live in a home for the aged seems to be unrelated to how far the children live from the parents. (See Table II.)

Category III Expectations of visits, which demands physical propinquity, appears to be related to geographical distance. When parental expectations of visiting were divided into those expecting visits at least twice a month and those expecting visits less often, a chi square score of 23.67 was obtained when compared to proximity. Significance levels were achieved for chi square scores when the data were analyzed according to rural or urban place of parental residence. Expectations of personal care by the child during the time of parental illness appears also to be related to proximity. (See Table III.)

Summary and Conclusion

The old adage "Out of sight, out of mind" seems to be inappropriate in describing the attitude of aged parents toward their adult children. Geographical distance reduces only their expectations of physical contact and is therefore, reality based. The functional equivalent of this reduced expectation appears in their desire for affective attention conveyed in letters, phone calls, and gifts. This desire is heightened, rather than reduced, by geographical distance. They continue to exhibit expectations of material care in financial aid and advice on matters of money and time. Having children who have moved from their neighborhood or community does not seem to affect their feelings about living with or being dependent upon their children. The horizontal mobility of their children does not appear, therefore, to be a factor in determining their expectations of filial responsibility except in those areas where actual physical contact is demanded in fulfilling the expectations.

It should be noted, in conclusion, that a significant generational distinction has been overlooked in this study. Oldsters of today were socialized into their family of orientation in pre World War II days. Further research is needed to determine if their expectations of filial responsibility are corroborated by the attitudes of their adult children toward the older generation.

TABLE I

(Continued)

Rural-urban parental expectations on receiving cards, letters, gifts, and phone calls based on proximity of children

Rural

	Yes	No
Proximal	10	55
Non-proximal	14	8

$X^2 = .18388$

Urban

	Yes	No
Proximal	23	86
Non-proximal	9	6

$X^2 = 4.022$

TABLE I

Parental expectations of financial aid and proximity of children

	Yes	No
Proximal	105	51
Non-proximal	26	9

$X^2 = .3627$

Parental expectations of advice on use of time and proximity of children

	Yes	No
Proximal	53	121
Non-proximal	16	21

$X^2 = 1.722$

Parental expectations of advice on use of money and proximity of children

	Yes	No
Proximal	55	117
Non-proximal	12	25

$X^2 = .019$

TABLE II

Parental willingness to live with their children and proximity of children

	Yes	No
Proximal	99	75
Non-proximal	24	13

$X^2 = .502$

Parental willingness to pay rent to children and proximity of children

	Yes	No
Proximal	58	94
Non-proximal	11	19

$X^2 = .0027$

Parental willingness to supply their own food in child's home and proximity of children

	Yes	No
Proximal	43	107
Non-proximal	7	23

$X^2 = .13846$

Parental desire to live in a home for the aged and proximity of children

	Yes	No
Proximal	35	139
Non-proximal	8	29

$X^2 = .00032$

URBANIZED SOCIETY NEEDS MET BY RURAL PEOPLE

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The purpose of this paper is to examine the roles of rural people in meeting the requirements of urbanized society. The roles are briefly traced historically. The body of the paper focuses on contemporary urbanized American society. The primary significance of the paper lies in its policy statements and challenges for the future. It is not within the assignment of this paper to examine rural community growth for rural people.

The primary need met by rural people for urban people is the provision of food and fiber. This need of urban people fulfilled by rural people was characteristic in the earliest cities known 5000 years ago, and it continues to the present. But the magnitude of total societal importance devoted to filling food and fiber needs varies greatly. In urbanized industrial societies in general, and in the United States in particular, during this latter part of the twentieth century, the amount of human time and energy devoted to satisfying food and fiber needs is sharply reduced. Moreover, in this urbanized society the amount of rural human energy used in food production is vastly minimized. Scientific agriculture, mass marketing, and vertical integration into agribusiness nearly eliminates the impact on and emasculates the control of rural people over their historic role of food production.

In the social organization of urbanized society food and fiber production are primarily integrated parts of general economic production of goods and services. In the United States, unlike in many other areas of the world, a major social equilibrium problem has emerged in the area of excess food and fiber production. People and land are moved out of agriculture. These resources are increasingly transferred to other social institutional areas.

New secondary social institutions are expanded in the urbanized society. These are illustrated in the areas of health, welfare (including concerns for

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poverty), and leisure-recreation. These new social institutions come from a contraction of human attention devoted to some older primary institutions. In the case of the institution of economics (production and distribution of goods and services) scientific and mechanical efficiency in food production contracts and reduces the amount of rural human energy and personnel used. One can say that the relative importance of the contribution of the rural population to urbanized society is diminished. Projections for the year 2000 by types of food production suggest that the rural contribution to this institutional space will be practically eliminated. We examine these institutional changes and discuss their implication for rural and agricultural policy and planning later in this paper.

A secondary, and fundamentally new, need met by rural people for urbanized society is outdoor recreation. The human relations of outdoor recreation are part of the urbanized society's secondary social institution of leisure-recreation. This paper is no brief for the fundamental "goodness" of outdoor recreation. Certainly we intend no implication that outdoor recreation is "better" than indoor, or rather more city-cultural types of recreation and leisure. Spectator sport viewing in a stadium, an afternoon in a fine arts museum, or an evening of night-clubing are all part of the social-behavior space of the leisure-recreation institution, along with outdoor recreation.

While many ideological arguments will be brought to bear on the differential merits and demerits of types of leisure and recreation it is an observable social fact that in affluent urbanized American society people have a high propensity for many types of outdoor recreation: for example, driving, hunting, fishing, camping, boating--all illustrative of the situation. Furthermore, there is a tendency for urban people to buy rural land for recreation, tax purposes, etc.

We recognize no structures in social organization which make it necessary for rural people to involve themselves extensively, or probably even at all, in providing outdoor recreation opportunities for urbanized society. Indeed naturalists, conservationists, and urban entrepreneurs might ultimately make a sufficient and total provision of outdoor recreation for urbanized society.

Conceivably, then, with the contraction of the historic and traditional role of food production and the bypassing of outdoor recreation, rural people could be left to a quiet demise in urbanized society. The residue of rural poor, in tarnish and blight, as in East Kentucky or West Virginia, could be relegated to the urbanized society's social welfare institution.

It appears possible, perhaps probable and maybe even desirable, that the total U.S.A. society will become urbanized in the twenty-first century. But the assignments to this author and the challenges of this paper are the examination of roles of rural people in meeting the requirements of urbanized society. We assume that food and outdoor recreation, although of different importance, are both requirements for this particular urbanized society. We are examining, then, the potential for rural people to participate, lead, and/or control in the provision of these needs for urbanized society. Implicit in this examination are questions like: What are the advantages for rural people in meeting these needs? What are the advantages for urbanized society in having these needs met by rural people? What are the implications for rural policy if rural people are not to meet these needs?

In all of this discussion we operationalize the definition or rural people as those living outside of metropolitan areas who are otherwise in the "mainstream" of an urbanized societal and cultural environment. We are not talking about societal "misfits," people in cultural islands, or pockets of poverty; but instead about rural residents who are systematic or potential contributors, to the total urbanized society.

Urban Society's Food and Fiber Needs

Between 1970 and 2000 population projections suggest that our U.S.A. population will grow by more than a hundred million people, for a national total of about 314 million people.[1] Practically all of this additional population will be urban. Indeed it is estimated that 85 per cent of the U.S.A. population will be in urban places by 2000.[2] Although about 48,000,000 people will live in rural areas in 2000, according to these projections; few of these will contribute directly to food and fiber production.

In the middle 60's an estimated 11 million people lived on farms. Less than one million of these lived on the farms which produced about 80 per cent of the nation's food and fiber.[3] The exodus of rural farm population continues with the scientific and technological advances and with the extension of minimum wage laws in agriculture.

Engineers, scientists, and others in urbanized society continue to move the knowledge base closer to a totally urbanized food production. This is illustrated with the production of plants and animals in sky scrapper buildings, with hydroponics, with remote computer controlled field machines (e.g. tractor cultivating and harvesting equipment).

Research on food preservation over long periods of time, with and without refrigeration, via ionizing radiations and similar techniques, continues to advance.[4] Scientific horticultural research is leading to the shaping of plants (e.g. grape vines and fruit trees) for higher quantity and quality production as well as easier cultivation and harvesting.[5]

Vertical integration in agribusiness from production, through processing, to supplying-distribution generally reduces the rural population's contribution to urban food needs. This is to say that, economically, most vertical integration is controlled by the needs of the urban people. Expansion of plans like one-stop farm centers[6] further reduces the rural control of food production to the point of changing the meaning of the word "food".

We submit that given the above social norms and social structures one should anticipate that in the decades ahead, certainly by early in the 21st century, rural contributions to food production will be contracted to very minimal laboring and semi-skilled machine operating roles. The ideas, technologies, and economics of systematic food production could become almost totally urbanized, like the people themselves.

An alternative would be the aggressive and systematic expansion into, and control of, agribusiness by rural people. From the point of view of social organization two structures in society support the systematic exploration of this alternative. First, the quality of the environment for urbanized society might be greatly enhanced. The establishment of viable (economic and scientific) agribusiness firms in the smaller towns and rural residential areas could contribute to the decongestion of larger urban population centers. (It is interesting to note that without such an orientation some of the large government agricultural research laboratories are located in major cities; New Orleans and Philadelphia, for example). Second, the desires of many rural and urban residents to live in smaller towns and open country, while being "mainstream" participators in urbanized society, could more easily be accommodated. Put another way, currently for many people to remain in rural areas is to accept a poverty or eccentric sub-cultural status. It appears possible for scientific urbanized food and fiber production to be located in smaller population centers--enabling rural people to maintain leadership in their historic role of food production.

Urbanized Society's Outdoor Recreation Needs

Outdoor recreation is increasing rapidly because of higher incomes, shorter hours of work, and increased mobility. It is by no means a necessarily rural phenomenon. Increasingly, and particularly in suburban areas, open and green outdoor spaces are being systematically set aside for recreation. Tennis courts, swimming pools, and shooting ranges, to name a few, are generally outdoor and generally urban. Hunting, camping, and boating are usually in rural areas, but not always. They are participated in proportinately more by urban than rural people.

Spatially most outdoor recreation is necessarily in rural areas. In terms of participation, most outdoor recreationers are from metropolitan areas. Most statistics show outdoor recreation to be increasing as measured by number of participants and dollar expenditures. Therefore, one can say this part of the leisure-recreation secondary urbanized society social institution is expanding. Presumably expansion could be accelerated for the future in both rural farm and non-farm areas. But the expansion need not be disproportinately in rural areas. As in the case of agribusiness, rural people and rural policy will have to compete systematically and scientifically for outdoor recreation; if they want to give leadership to this area of human activity and receive social, ecological, and economic benefits from it. The rural obviously has the "outdoor advantage".

In an urbanized, scientifically oriented society the procuring and disseminating of data and information measurably influence social behavior along with ideology, propaganda, and charisma. In the new and rapidly developing leisure-recreation social institutions the weight of verifiable evidence is still minimal. The relative socio-biological value of: jogging, nudist camps, water skiing, night clubing, dancing, camping, opera, horse racing, chess, sailing, and gambling remain in the area of conjecture. Some of these forms of leisure-recreation stretch the mind, the imagination, the muscles, the economy; some tan the hide while others soften it; some build character and mental health while others erode them. These illustrative assertions about leisure-recreation in the urbanized society. The assertions carry more weight of history than scientific evidence.[7]

Attitudes and values of people plus socio-geographical systems analyses need to be scientifically researched and to have the findings widely disseminated in order to increase the probability of maximizing the functions of the leisure-recreation institution. It is in the interest of rural people to participate in the systematic knowledge building for leisure and recreation. With the urbanized society's propensity for storing data and for striving toward rational behavior, there is a need for systematic information on outdoor recreation. Rural people could form scientific and economic associations to meet this urbanized society need. To the extent that evidence supports our national values favoring outdoor recreation particularly in rural areas; rural people could give the leadership in economic, social, and other idea areas.

Implications for Policy

Carefully articulated rural policy in the area of agribusiness food and fiber production and in the area of outdoor recreation can facilitate and expand the contributing roles of rural people to urbanized society. Without a forcefully articulated policy in these areas we would anticipate from a social organizational point of view, the continued decline of the rural population's contribution to systematic agribusiness and a probably bypassing of rural people in the provision of outdoor recreation.

The position taken in this paper is that there are two major and highly significant roles for rural people to fulfil in contributing to urbanized society, namely agribusiness food and fiber production and outdoor recreation. In both of these cases we submit that rural people and rural leadership will have to show initiative if these roles are in fact to be filled by rural people. We see few social structures in the urbanized society which would require that these roles be filled by rural people. They must actively seek to fill them--this may be their main chance.

National agricultural associations, the United States Department of Agriculture, and regional agricultural associations should act at once, and in cooperation, to convene a series of policy seminars concerning "Contributions of Rural People in Urbanized Society."

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BLACK EDUCATORS AND FACULTY INTEGRATION*

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Introduction

One of the most apparent examples of the implementation of "planned social change" is the current enforcement of student and faculty integration by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in areas throughout the United States. As a result of wide-spread news coverage, social scientists are well aware of the rather slow rate at which school integration has occurred in the southern United States. Explanations for these difficulties have focused on racial prejudice in the white community which has resulted in such reactive behavior as court-defiance, various stalling tactics, intimidation of blacks, and on some occasions, physical violence.

These factors, centered in the white community, have played the greatest part in resistance to integrative change. However, attitudes prevalent within the black community have also hindered both faculty and student integration in the South--specifically, the negative attitudes of some black educators toward integration.

The primary objective of this study was an investigation of the attitudes of black educators in a Mississippi community toward faculty desegration. Additional information is provided concerning factors related to differentials in attitudes held by these teachers and administrators.

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[**] D. W. Harper, Carlton R. Sollie and William A. Stacy are recognized for their contributions to this study.

Theoretical Framework

The acceptance of an innovation is greatly facilitated when it is initiated by those individuals holding institutionalized positions of influence in the area of the community most affected by change. However, students of social change [6.7] have observed that community influentials, having a vested interest in the existing social structure, often resist and are the last to accept innovation. Parsons [7] has observed that innovations tend to be resisted by persons who fear a loss of power, wealth, job security or prestige should the innovation gain acceptance.

The segregated school system of the South has provided a source of prestige and job security for black educators that has existed, to a great degree, independent of the white community. Thus, the black educator has developed a vested interest in the institutionalized, segregated school system of the South.

Studies in Texas [1], Georgia [2], South Carolina [3], North Carolina [5], and Missouri [4] have found that substantial numbers of black educators express negative attitudes towards school integration, especially when they perceive integration as a threat to job security and prestige. The fear of loss of prestige and job security is related to anticipated competition with white educators once the educational system is integrated. This concern manifests itself in terms of feelings of "intellectual inadequacy," "social inadequacy," and the lack of "social poise, vocabulary and manners" required in the newly integrated system. [1] Generally, the reluctance to integrate is the product of the expectations of black educators which define integrative change in terms of personal consequences.

It should be pointed out that past research does not reveal that the majority of black educators teaching in segregated school systems are opposed to integration, but, that substantial proportions have serious reservations concerning this change. These reservations, in all probability, are not linked to an ideological opposition to integration; rather, they are a result of the form of integration anticipated in a white-dominated society.

It is apparent that the black educator is frequently faced with role conflict resulting from the clash of personal and group interests. On the one hand, he maintains that integration, in the long run, will enhance the status and well-being of blacks in general. On the other, he may simultaneously feel that his own personal well-being will be immediately threatened by the implementation of integration. This "conflict of interests" has been noted by Amos [1] who, in reference to the black educator contends that:

> Any ideological commitment they might have to non-segregated education and any pressure they might feel from the Negro community to take a strong stand along these lines appears to be mitigated by the fear of losing their jobs through discrimination or as a result of direct competition with better-trained white teachers.

Two general propositions guided the researchers in the investigation of differential attitudes expressed by the respondents. First, it was thought that those individuals who had become well-established in the segregated school system or the community would be more likely to express negative attitudes toward integration. The following five hypotheses were used to test this general proposition:

1. The older the black educator, the more likely he will exhibit negative attitudes towards desegregation.

2. The longer the black educator has been teaching in a segregated school system, the more likely he will exhibit negative attitudes towards integration.

3. The longer the black educator has been teaching in the school system investigated, the more likely he will exhibit negative attitudes towards integration.

4. The less mobile the black educator, the more likely he will exhibit negative attitudes towards integration.

5. The black educator who owns property in the community will more likely exhibit negative attitudes towards integration.

Secondly, it was also thought that educators who expressed negative attitudes towards integrative change also tend to view other innovations that threaten the status quo of the school system negatively. Educators holding this point of view would tned to be either in opposition or apathetic to teacher-union organization. The following hypotheses were generated from this general proposition.

6. The black educator who has negative attitudes the A.F.T. (American Federation of Teachers) will be more likely to exhibit negative attitudes towards integration.

7. The black educator who has negative attitudes towards collective bargaining will be more likely to exhibit negative attitudes towards integration.

8. The black educator who has negative attitudes towards AFL-CIO will be more likely to exhibit negative attitudes towards integration.

9. The black educator who has negative attitudes towards teacher strikes will be more likely to exhibit negative attitudes towards integration.

Methodological Procedures

The data used in this study were obtained from interviews with black, high school teachers and administrators in a Mississippi community of approximately 10,000 residents. The school system in this community operates on a segregated basis, is headed by a white Superintendent of Education, and has a School Board composed of influential members of the community. As a whole, blacks make up approximately 60 per cent of the total population of the community. However, the School Board consists entirely of white members. Of the 65 black teachers and administrators employed by the school system at the time of this study, 56 were interviewed. Care was taken to emphasize the confidential nature of the information obtained. In addition, respondents were assured that all information was to be used only for research purposes and would not be made known to colleagues, superiors or to the school board. [9]. The data were collected in 1968.

Attitudes towards faculty desegregation were determined by the following question:

"Would you consider teaching in a racially integrated school?" Individuals who responded to this question in a negative manner were considered to have attitudes in opposition to integration, whereas positive responses were considered to be indicative of favorable attitudes.

Findings

The majority (75%) of the black educators did not express negative attitudes towards faculty integration. However, the finding that one out of four black educator in this community had negative attitudes suggests that substantial reservation to integration did exist.

Hypothesis 1: There was a strong tendency for older educators to have negative attitudes towards integration. As Table 1 reveals, 75 per cent of those educators classified as old (40 or older) held negative attitudes towards faculty integration. For those respondents under the age of forty, it was found that only nine per cent held a similar view towards integration of school faculties. A contingency coefficient of .78 indicates the strength of the observed relationship (See Table 2).

Table 1. Percentage of Educators Expressing Negative Feelings Towards Faculty Integration

Variable	N	Characteristic	
		Over 40 Years	Under 40 Years
Age of Educator	45	75%	9.1%
		9 Years or Over	Under 9 Years
Tenure in Segregated School System	44	37.1%	11.8%
		9 Years of Over	Under 9 Years
Tenure in Present System	47	36.2%	16.7%
		11 Years or More	Under 11 Years
Length of Residence	35	43.8%	10.6%
		Owner	Renter
Home Ownership	44	37.5%	0.0%

Hypothesis 2: Approximately 37 per cent of the educators with nine years or more teaching experience in segregated school systems had negative attitudes towards integration. In comparison, slightly less than 12 per cent of the educators with less than nine years teaching experience were found to have similar, negative attitudes (Table 1). A. C. value of .38 indicates a moderate degree of relationship between these two factors (See Table 2).

Hypothesis 3: A relationship was observed between teaching experience in the particular school system studied and attitudes towards integration. More than 36 per cent of those educators with more experience held negative attitudes, while only 16.7 per cent with less experience manifested such attitudes (Table 1). The contingency coefficient (C=.34) indicates the existence of a moderate relationship (See Table 2).

Hypothesis 4: A significant relationship was found between length of "home tenure" and attitudes towards integration. Those educators having longer tenure were found to have attitudes opposed to faculty desegregation. A relative high high degree of association (C=.50) was observed between the variables.

Table 2. Summary Table of the Relationship Between Attitudes Towards Integration and Indicator of the Establishment of Educators in the Community and School System.[a]

Variable	d.f.	X^2	C	Probability
Age of Educator	1	19.55	.78	P_r [C=0] $< .02$
Tenure in Segregated School System	1	2.42	.34	P_r [C=0] $< .20$
Tenure in Present System	1	3.36	.38	P_r [C=0] $< .10$
Length of Residence	1	5.019	.50	P_r [C=0] $< .02$
Home Ownership	1	6.144	.49	P_r [C=0] $< .02$

[a] Probability levels were calculated for illustrative purposes. Yates Corrections were applied to X^2 values where appropriate. Since r=k for the various tests, C values were standardized 2,8 to one by the use of the expression $\sqrt{\frac{k-1}{k}}$.

Hypothesis 5: A significant relationship (C=.49) was also observed between home ownership and attitudes towards faculty desegregation (See Tables 1 and 2). It is interesting to note that slightly more than 37 per cent of the home owners held negative attitudes, while none of the educators who were renting gave similar responses.

Table 3. Percentage of Educators Expressing Negative Feelings Towards Integration With Respect to Attitudes Concerning Teacher Unionization

Variable	N	Attitude Towards Unionization Negative	Attitude Towards Unionization Positive
American Federation of Teachers	47	30.0%	0.0%
Collective Bargaining	47	32.5%	0.0%
AFL-CIO	47	30.6%	9.1%
Striking	47	38.5%	9.5%

Hypothesis 6: All educators who thought teachers should join the American Federation of Teachers also responded positively towards integration. (Table 3). On the other hand, 30 per cent of the educators with negative attitudes towards the AFT expressed negative attitudes towards faculty desegregation. A C value of .33 was observed for this relationship (See Table 4).

Hypothesis 7: Educators who felt that teachers should bargain collectively were inclined to view faculty desegregation favorably. Approximately 33 per cent of those educators opposed to "collective bargaining" considered faculty desegragation as desirable (See Table 3). In Table 4 a C value of .41 was found, indicating a relatively strong association.

Table 4. Summary Table of the Relationship Between Attitudes Towards Integration and Attitudes Towards Teacher Unionization

Variable	d.f.	X^2	C	Probability
American Federation of Teachers	1	2.790	.33	P_r [C=] $<.10$
Collective Bargain	1	4.318	.41	P_r [C=0] $<.05$
AFL-CIO	1	2.041	.29	P_r [C=0] $<.20$
Striking	1	5.116	.44	P_r [C=0] $<.05$

Hypothesis 8: There was a strong tendency for those educators who felt teachers should join the AFL-CIO to express a positive attitude towards faculty integration. About nine per cent of those educators with a positive attitude towards joining the AFL-CIO viewed faculty desegregation in a negative manner. More than 30 per cent of the educators with negative attitudes towards the AFL-CIO were unfavorably disposed towards teaching in an integrated school (See Table 3). A relatively weak association was observed, as indicated by a C of .29 (Table 4).

Hypothesis 9: Those educators who thought teachers should not strike for higher wages and better working conditions also tended to be opposed to faculty desegregation. Table 3 reveals the proportions of educators expressing negative attitudes towards faculty integration with respect to attitudes towards strikes. The C value of .44 indicates the existence of a relatively strong relationship (Table 4).

Discussion

The findings of this research indicate that a significant proportion of the black educators in the community studied expressed unfavorable attitudes towards faculty integration. Furthermore, it was found that the educators expressing negative attitudes towards integration tended to be the older, more established blacks in the community. Their social position suggests that the influence of these educators may exceed their actual numbers. It is apparent that the views these educators hold represent one obstacle to faculty integration that has been overlooked by researchers and individuals involved in the actual implementation of integration programs.

This study strongly supports the contention that those individuals who have become well-established in the segregated school system, or in the community, were more likely to express negative attitudes towards integration. That is, black educators with the greatest vested interest in the segregated system tended to oppose integrative change. In each of five tests, proportionately more of the "well-established" educators did not view faculty integration favorably. Standardized contingency coefficients ranged from a high of .78 to a low of .34.

The data also supported the contention that those educators expressing negative attitudes towards integration also tended to resist other changes in the school system such as teacher unionization. A positive relationship was observed between attitudes towards faculty integration and each of four measures of union organization. Those educators opposed to integration were more likely to be unfavorably disposed toward the AFT, collective bargaining, the AFL-CIO, and teacher strikes. Contingency coefficients ranged from .44 to .29.

These findings are generally in agreement with the theoretical formulations of LaPiere on social change, and with past empirical studies in this area. It is apparent that for some black educators, a policy of integration presents a situation in which value conflicts are presented. The implementation of this change would be expedited if it were organized in such a way as to associate individual interest and well-being with integration, rather than with the prevailing system of segregation. Measures should be taken to assure equality in job-opportunities, job-competition, and promotions and salaries, as well as in teaching assignments, as part of the policy for fostering effective integrative change and minimizing personal loss.

DELIVERY OF HEALTH SERVICES IN RURAL AREAS

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Fifty-four million Americans (27%) live in rural areas. Trends in the U. S. toward urbanization and specialization in medical practice have resulted in a concentration of physicians in larger cities. A resulting maldistribution of physicians in certain areas leaves some rural communities without immediate access to medical care. In addition to the problems in communication and transportation imposed upon rural dwellers by the distances separating them, we find that rural people in the more sparsely populated areas have only about one-half the access to physicians, nurses, dentists, hospital beds, and other health resources when compared with the rest of the nation. The health problems of rural areas are further compounded by environmental hazards, an aging population, and a high degree of poverty. In addition, an increasing number of patients, greater demand for services, more difficult patient problems, more complex diagnostic and therapeutic procedures, and a greater need for continuing medical education are all placing increasing demands upon the physician's time and skill.

Variations in Patterns of Living

Feedback from community study leaders in the 21 community action study groups of the National Commission on Community Health Services points up one major conclusion -- that there is no single blueprint for study and solution of health problems that is applicable to all communities in all situations. The cultural base of any community is important in determining how human and natural resources are treated.

Continuing regional disparities appear when data on the distribution of physicians, dentists, and nurses per 100,000 population are examined by year and region. The South's supply of physicians, dentists, and nurses was at a lower level than that of any other geographical region from 1921 to the present.

That concept of region is often applicable to the development of health facilities is borne out by past regional developments in the Southwest, Northwest, and Far West.

Wide variations in patterns of living in rural areas are evidenced. About 14,000,000 rural people continue to live at a depressed level. Some may live in the midst of relative prosperity, but are bypassed by economic and social change. Rural America accounts for 27% of our total population, but 40% of the poor.

Health care for migrant farm workers poses difficulties in all areas of the U.S. Working in isolated communities, uncertain income, lack of resident status, and limited availability of health services, are problems generally faced by migratory farm families.

Suitable Models Are Important

With the changing patterns of life -- demographically, economically, socially -- different models for the delivery of health services are needed. Such suggested designs will provide directions and guidelines for rural community health planning groups to consider and, hopefully, to be able to revise and adapt to meet their local requirements.

Physicians and health workers have long recognized the need for community health planning to prevent fragmentation of services, needless duplication of services, and waste of money. They are also conscious of the need for efficient utilization of currently available health manpower and facilities.

Physicians are not needed in every hamlet, village, or township. Today's modern transportation makes it unnecessary for a physician to have an office in each area where relatively few people reside. In our educational system, the one-room rural school has given way to larger multi-room consolidated schools with modern facilities and adequate resources. The same trend applies to medical services for the rural population. In some areas of the nation where rural and small urban communities are contiguous, health resources and efforts can be combined in larger and more functional groupings which will comprise a population base large enough to support a full range of efficient and high quality health services and facilities.

Today's family physician locates himself so that he can do the most good for the greatest number of people. More patients are able to reach him in less time than his "horse and buggy" predecessor. A patient who is 15 or 20 miles away from his physician today is actually closer in terms of time than a patient 2 miles away was 50 years ago.

Patients and families can more easily come to the physician and his supporting staff than in the past. Increasingly, physicians' offices are clustering around community hospitals in the larger towns. Often, the newer hospitals contain office facilities for group practice, so that the emergency room, clinical diagnostic laboratory, and radiology facilities can be jointly used for ambulant outpatients as well as inpatients. Wherever it is not possible for dispersed rural populations to come to a town because of age, infirmity, and depressed economic conditions, techniques can be used to take a mobile office with allied health professionals and a simple laboratory to the people. In some very isolated rural areas it might prove more feasible to develop small permanent satellite health centers with a well-designed clinic building staffed by a physician's assistant in residence who could serve in a similar role to that of a corpsman in an isolated military post or on a ship. Other allied health professionals could be added as needed. The problem of ready communication with the physician is soluble by techniques developed for transmission of data in the space program.

The dimensions of a health service area within which residents should join to carry out integrated planning for delivery of health services are likely to be already marked by the trading or community patterns that have been drawn by rural and city residents together as they drive to work, to shop, to college, to visit, and to recreational and cultural facilities.

The two models described here are not to be construed as predictions, but as concepts. A description of a model does not imply endorsement of a particular method for the delivery of rural health services. With our changing times, other models will be conceived and developed as local conditions may dictate. It is hoped that from such experimental models a number of plans will evolve which can be adapted and utilized by local health planning groups for their specific needs.

Each community needs to make a critical appraisal of its situation to determine the most feasible arrangement for delivery of its health care. Some questions to consider are: 1) Is there sufficient population base at various age levels to warrant patient demand for one or more physicians? 2) Is the community capable of providing necessary financial resources to support personnel and facilities? 3) Where do people travel for medical care at present? 4) Are there readily accessible major health centers available in the larger community area?

Some Unique Models

A Community Health Program in Lafayette County, Florida is under the supervision of the Division of Ambulatory Medicine and Community Programs of the Department of Medicine at the University of Florida's College of Medicine. The program started on January 6, 1969, as a community-oriented, comprehensive health care service for the residents of Lafayette County, Florida.

Lafayette County is in north central Florida, 60 miles from Gainesville. The Suwannee River is its easternmost border and most of the 3,000 residents live along the River bottomland. The County seat and only community of any size is Mayo, a village of 800 people. The major industry is farming -- cattle, dairy, and tobacco. There is a small boat building factory in Mayo. Six hundred people work for a pulp mill in an adjacent county, the source of major employment. This is a sparsely settled, economically poor, southern rural County. There are 400 Negro residents who live in Mayo in an area referred to as the "quarters." Although the one high school and kindergarten are integrated, two completely segregated grammar schools still exist. There has been no private physician practicing in Lafayette County for 10 years.

In Mayo there is a recently constructed County health clinic which has ample space for the ambulatory care of all County residents. It houses the office of the County health nurse and serves as the base of operations for the Lafayette County Health Center.

The purposes of the clinic are threefold: 1) To provide a teaching and training experience for medical and nursing students and house staff in community medicine. It was felt this experience would have to be some distance from a medical center. Then the students could live and participate in a community and see firsthand how people identify their own needs and how medicine may begin to meet these needs. 2) To furnish medical service to a community where it has not been readily available. 3) To establish for the College of Medicine a facility where the problems of getting health care to people and getting people in need of health care to health professionals may be critically studied.

Citizens of Lafayette County comprise the Community Advisory Committee which was formed to help in the planning and operation of this health center. They insisted upon a fee for service for those able to pay. This has helped to make the clinic self-supporting and has emphasized that this is not a project directed primarily at indigents but to all residents regardless of their ability to pay. The clinic is demonstrating the potential or being self-supporting. Since opening, they have averaged approximately 25 patients a day and slightly less than 100 house calls a month.

One resident in medicine and 3 or 4 medical students live in Mayo. They are paid a small stipend to cover their additional living expenses. They staff the clinic which has liberal hours from 8:30 a.m. to 9:00 p.m. They are available, however, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. All medical students will rotate through this clinic experience. In addition to providing care in the clinic or at home, the resident and students write a health column for the local weekly newspaper, and participate in the community by assisting the science teachers in high school and giving talks to local service clubs and church groups.

There were two initial goals of this project. First, it had to be a successful teaching and training experience for the medical student. Second, the citizens of Lafayette County had to be receptive to this concept of health care. Both of these goals have been met. At the present time this program in the delivery of rural health services is working well.

A Model for the Practice of Community Medicine is being developed by the citizens of Frenchburg, Kentucky, population 300.

Frenchburg, Menifee County, Kentucky, is in eastern Kentucky in Appalachia, which is in the heart of the coal country on the edge of the Cumberland Mountains.

There are about 5,000 persons within a 12-mile radius of Frenchburg. It is the County seat and the only organized town in the County. At distances of about 15 miles in each direction are communities of a few hundred, rather dispersed, and not organized.

Two physicians who practice together serve the area and they are providing the leadership for the plan for delivery of health services.

None of the satellite communities have physicians but one has a registered nurse, one a practical nurse, and the others have nurses' aides. These share their interests with Frenchburg and also with the county seats of other counties about 15 miles beyond them. Within the five-county rural area, the three small hospitals available, of about 30 beds each, were closed within the past two years.

The heart of the proposal is an actual medical center in one location. Such a center will be large enough with its combined services so it would be economically feasible and self-supporting. The center will be the nucleus and model for the practice of community medicine by the health team and will aim to incorporate these facets for health care: 1) immediate care of seriously ill; 2) care of ordinary ills; 3) emergency calls; 4) long-term medical and nursing care; 5) long-term custodial care; 6) housing for the aged; 7) home care of the sick; 8) transportation of the ill and injured; 9) public health services; 10) health education for the public; 11) satellite centers; and 12) data retrieval. The University of Kentucky Medical School has already inaugurated a program to computerize diagnoses, informational data, and epidemiological data of the physicians' practice.

Community Involvement

This brief review of several models of health care delivery clearly illustrates that the search for rural health manpower must generally be geared to an area-wide health care system. Nowhere can this be done better than in the small towns with which we are most concerned. They can identify their own nurses, active or retired, technicians, teachers who have health skills, or others who can be trained to perform relatively simple, but nonetheless critical, services. A nurse with special training or other specifically trained assistants can relieve the physician of many time-consuming professional activities and allow him to use his professional skills much more productively.

The focus in these endeavors is on community consciousness. The greatest investments will be in deliberate planning based on a belief in the rights of all its citizens to have access to good health care. With modest expenditure, small communities can establish efficient emergency care through the use of everything from a pool of private automobiles to well-equipped ambulances or (with greater expense), helicopters. With prudent screening in each locality, advance arrangements can be made to have groups of patients seen with the least possible loss of time at the physician's office.

It seems especially important for organizations concerned with the delivery of health care to rural people to be deeply involved with comprehensive health planning groups at all community levels. It is essential for rural leadership to be represented on community health planning councils so that they can speak for rural people and ensure good planning for future health care programs in their communities.

The elements of planning for the delivery of rural health services have only been sketched. What is most urgently required is a strategy for its development and implementation, an entirely local responsibility if it is to be successful.

Criteria for Evaluation

Communities must establish measures or criteria for evaluating a proposed model for the delivery of health care services which may be adaptable to the local situation. Evaluation procedures should be built into each step in the total process encompassed in planning and implementing the health care system.

Logically, the process begins with an analysis of the local situation or medical service area. Such an area may include several communities and towns and may be multi-county in size, depending upon the population density and trading area. Facts are needed with regard to the health experiences and health needs of the people in the area. An inventory of the health manpower and health facilities available in the area should be made as well as health resources which may be called upon beyond that area. Consideration must also be given to the relationship of any new plan or model for health care delivery to the existing methods available.

Criteria for measurement of ideal community health services may be summarized as follows: 1) methods must be devised to utilize physicians and allied health personnel in the most efficient and economical way; 2) there must be adequate facilities in the medical service area -- hospitals, laboratories, extended care facilities, and nursing homes -- to provide needed services; 3) there must be an effective organizational and delivery pattern of services so that professional personnel and facilities are efficiently utilized to provide high quality health care; 4) there must be adequate funds or sound financing mechanisms to permit construction of needed facilities and utilization of services; and 5) the community itself must recognize the advantages of excellent health care, should seek to secure these advantages by establishing requisite facilities, and by attracting needed physicians and other health professionals where feasible or combining with other communities in an enlarged medical service area.

Utilization of Resources

Education for health is a fundamental aspect of community health services and is basic to every health program. It should stimulate each individual to assume responsibility for maintaining personal health throughout life and to participate in community health activities. The community has a responsibility for developing an organized and continuing educational program concerning health resources for its residents. Each individual has a personal responsibility for making full use of available resources.

The objectives for health education, then, are to interest each individual in his own health and the means to improve it; to teach him where health services are available; to motivate him to use these services intelligently; and to enable him to discriminate between scientific health care and quackery.

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The widespread concern about health manpower has extended beyond that of the growing need for physicians. We are now equally concerned with the preparation and effective utilization of those professions and services supportive to the physician in providing health care. To utilize the services of the physician most efficiently, a nucleus of appropriate people in the community can provide valuable assistance. The concept of the health team is not new, only the size of the team is being enlarged. The physician-nurse arrangement has today been augmented with a cadre of additional allied health personnel. Problems are found in both the availability of personnel and in the manner in which they are utilized. However, the trend is certain that an increasing number of trained, responsible members can effectively assume their respective roles on the health team that is, in truth, a team.

In conclusion, we can say that the way for each person to attain the goal of optimum personal health care lies within his community and its resources. Ultimately, the power is found within the people themselves. As Thomas Jefferson said, "I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and, if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control, with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education."

ROLE OF THE PROFESSIONAL FORESTRY CONSULTANT IN THE RURAL SOUTH[1]

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Where have you woven the professional forestry consultant into your intricately detailed tapestry of the myriad institutions that blanket the rural South? Don't feel embarrassed if you've left him out of your original design for our Southern social structure; most people don't even know he exists! Actually, until after World War II hardly any forestry consultants did exist. But over the last two decades their services have become increasingly available to woodland owners and other clients throughout the South.

When the war ended, many men who were tired of regimentation and who had worked as foresters on government or company payrolls before entering the armed forces decided to go it alone. Foresters probably generally are characterized by a spirit of independence and enter their profession as a calling to the Great Outdoors, a rugged life, and a chance to work close to nature in the service of their fellow man. The products of the forest need to be husbanded and harvested with discretion, and new crops must be regenerated according to the biological and economic facts of life, if the needs of society for wood and other forest benefits are to be met--from here to eternity.

By 1966, about 375 forestry consultants were practicing in 275 firms in the South. This population was derived from a study made in the 12 Southern states from Virginia to Texas. A questionnaire was mailed to all the consulting firms listed in four directories[2] and interviews in depth were held with a 25 percent random sample of both respondents and nonrespondents to the mailed questionnaire. Nonrespondents were interviewed primarily to ascertain whether they differed in any important respects from the respondents. No significant differences were found for any of the variables tested.

Responses came from over 70 percent of the consultants and over 60 percent of the firms. The replies revealed that the term "forestry consultant" has a variety of meanings. The directories had included as consultants: woodsmen, lumbermen, and pulpwood buyers who provide advisory services related to trees; self-employed graduate foresters who offer a variety of services for a fee; and graduate foresters who offer only technical or legal services related to forestry.

"Firms" consisted of consulting companies, partnerships, and associations of colleagues, but the overwhelming majority were independent individuals. About an eighth of the firms had two foresters, and a twentieth had three or more. Somewhat over half the firms had full-time consultants; 6 percent were in the half- to three-fourths-time range; a third of the firms had consultants working somewhat less than half time; and an eighth had men who seldom consulted. A few firms had men in two of these activity categories. A third also employed forestry aides or technicians. Of this third, three-fifths had one aide; a fourth had two; and a sixth employed three or more technicians.

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[1] Presented February 3, 1970, Annual Meeting, Association of Southern Agriculture Workers, Rural Sociology Section, Memphis, Tennessee.

[2] FOREST FARMERS ASSOCIATION. 1965. Consulting foresters. Forest Farmer 24(7):99-103.
MILLER FREEMAN PUBLICATIONS. 1964. Directory of the forest products industry, 1965. Miller Freeman Publ. Portland, Ore. 522 pp.
SOCIETY OF AMERICAN FORESTERS. 1966. Consulting foresters. J. Forestry 64: 148-159.
U.S. FOREST SERVICE. 1964. List of professional private consultants in forest operations. Forest Serv., USDA, Div. State and Private Forestry [Southeast Area, State and Priv. Forestry]. Atlanta, Ga. 28 pp.

The heaviest concentration of consultants is in the Southeast: five-eighths of the total were headquartered in the five-state area from North Carolina to Florida and westward to Alabama. At least 36 consultants lived in each of these states. Half this number, or less, occupied the three states at the opposite end of the density range: Mississippi, Tennessee and Texas.

More than half of the firms are identified by the name of one man, with or without the title of "Consulting Forester." Twelve percent contain the names of two men or one man plus "and Company" or "and Associates." Another fifth have a company name including the last name of the head consultant or a geographical name. These sometimes also include terms such as forest, forestry, timber, land, and management. The remaining firms have chosen names with an eye toward quality, dignity, or an indication of services offered. Examples are Land Resources Consultant Company, Commercial Foresters, Inc., Complete Timberland Management Service, and Woodland Managers.

Most firms provide clients a range of the more commonly requested forestry services, such as timber cruising and marking, selling or appraising timber and land, and managing forest land. The average firm also buys land and timber for clients, improves timber stands, and does regeneration work (planting or seeding) to produce new crops of timber. About a third of the firms also offer industrial location and planning and other specialized studies a client may need. Fees are based essentially on time and effort but, if clients prefer, may be quoted in advance on the basis of the area serviced, the volume marked, or some other piecework measure. When a sale is involved, the fee is almost invariably a percentage of the sale value.

The clients consultants serve are, for the most part, private citizens, individual landowners. According to the respondents to the 1966 study, 44 percent of their clients were business and professional people and 18 percent were farmers. Wood-using industries made up 19 percent of their clientele, and estates and banks, 11. The remaining 8 percent consisted of public utility and petroleum companies, railroads, expressway authorities, government agencies at all levels, real estate developers and brokers, campground and resort operators, tax court judges, and people with many other interests.

Barely one-fifth of the clients live in the country; the rest live in communities at varying distances from their forest land. This majority is about equally divided between those whose forest land lies beyond a 25-mile radius from their homes, and those who own at least some forest land within 25 miles of home.

Among the consulting firms reporting the size of their clientele in both 1961 and 1965, almost three-fifths had the same number or fewer clients at the end of the period. This disclosure does not necessarily indicate lack of growth, however. Not all consultants measure success by numbers of clients. Some prefer to keep their obligations at a level that can be handled by one man. Some aim toward sustained management of a reasonable total acreage, regardless of the number of ownerships involved. Although consultants in general prefer a clientele of few owners with large acreages, most will work on small properties. Almost three-fifths consult on tracts of 20 acres or less.

Over half the clients were considered permanent, or repeat, clients; but fewer than a third of the consultants received retainers. To attain a reasonably steady income, many firms strive to build up the acreage they manage continuously, but some prefer not to be committed by a retainer. Regardless of the mechanism, consultants are eager to convince clients that it pays to have a forester constantly on the alert to enhance the value of their investments and protect their interests.

The 68 consultants interviewed were asked about effective means for obtaining clients. The great majority depend upon their reputations and on referrals, through which people with forest-related problems or questions approach the consultants. The most commonly mentioned technique for reaching potential clients was "personal contact," but many said they used it only until they had acquired a reputation. Some felt that "solicitation" was not satisfactory because it gave the "bad impression that you need work."

Consultants rated small newspaper and magazine ads in second place among contacting techniques, virtually an equal number had found them unsatisfactory. About 10 percent had sent letters to potential clients, mainly at the beginning of their consulting careers, and had found them effective, but an equal number felt that letters were unsatisfactory. Ten percent felt that listings in the Yellow Pages were worthwhile.

A considerable amount of professional time was consumed in conversations, correspondence, and sometimes field work on behalf of people with whomno contract was reached. The average length of time on each case ranged from a few minutes to 72 hours, but well over half the cases involved no more than an hour, and only 8 percent ran over half a day.

As to the categories of people who are thought to be helpful in informing landowners and other potential clients about the services consultants perform, the majority of the interviewed consultants rated real estate people most highly. They also gave considerable credit to lawyers, bankers, public agencies in agriculture and forestry (both federal and state), and associations (state, local, and regional), that are concerned with forestry and other phases of conservation. Less frequently mentioned were timber buyers, church and civic groups, and friends and business leaders in local communities.

Now for the consultants themselves, and their backgrounds. College diplomas were held by 92 percent of the men, and 18 percent held two or more degrees. The degrees had been awarded by 48 schools from coast to coast, but a third of the respondents had graduated from a school in the state in which they were employed. Three-fifths of the bachelors degrees came from only 5 schools; Pennsylvania State University awarded 13, North Carolina State University 40, University of Georgia 39, Auburn University 10, and Louisiana State University 20.

For a brief summary of their age distribution, only one-sixth of the consultants were under 35, whereas about two-thirds were in the 20-year group from 35 to 54. The youngest man contacted was 24, and the oldest two were still active in their early 80's. Most of the men 60 and older consult less than half time. Probably many of them are partly or wholly retired but accept work that is particularly attractive to them. Many young men consult part-time to supplement their income from another source.

The qualifications of the Southern forestry consultants to serve clients competently, by and large, are made more meaningful when you consider, in addition to their educational background and chronological maturity, their previous experience; in public forestry, industrial forestry, the teaching of forestry, or as assistants to consultants. Ninety-two percent of the respondents reported experience in at least one of these categories; two-fifths had had two kinds; and a handful, three kinds.

Public forestry held a slight edge over industrial forestry as preparatory employment: 149 to 136. Consultants had averaged 8 years in public service, or 7 years in industry. And two-thirds of the former government foresters had had other work experience: 90 percent had been company foresters for an average of almost 8 years, usually after their public service. Also ten had taught forestry for close to 12 years each, and 13 had been assistantsto consultants.

To get an indication of how important a consultant's practice was to his livelihood, each one was asked "About what proportion of your personal net income (before taxes) is received from forestry consulting fees?" The answers revealed that over a third get 95 percent or more of their income from consulting, and another sixth rely on their fees for 80 percent or more. That accounts for the more active half. Then at the low end of the range, including practically all the "seldom consulting" men, are the bottom one-fourth who, coincidentally, depend on consulting for less than a quarter of their income.

The principal question that involved expressions of attitude was asked in seven parts to bring out the kinds of relationships that exist between forestry consultants and other institutions that affect forest management--primarily certain programs of government, both federal and state, and of wood-products industries. The question asked was, "In what ways have the following influenced your operations to serve landowners? First, the Agricultural Conservation Program, or ACP?" Brief answers were recorded, using quotes where feasible, to document the respondents' opinions of the favorable and unfavorable features, strong and weak elements, of what each man understood to be the Agricultural conservation Program as it affected his consulting practice.

The ACP authorizes county committees, composed of leading farmers, to distribute cost-sharing payments among local farmers who apply certain farm practices on their lands. Each committee may use its discretion in allowing any or all of the conservation practices authorized as part of desirable farm management in the state. Forestry practices that may be allowed include tree planting, fencing, timber stand improvement, site preparation, and fireline construction.

Over half the evaluations of ACP were favorable. A number of replies departed from strict reference to the effects on the individual consultant, and pertained to the program's beneficial effects on society. Many cited its arousal of interest in forestry as a part of improved resource development, and others applauded its success in getting trees planted and timber stands improved.

Fewer than 9 percent of the responses were purely negative. The principal negative criticism was that ACP effectiveness is slight in some areas because the farmer-controlled county committees have little interest in forestry and because "only a small percentage of the total acreage is allowable for forestry assistance." Some respondents contend that, through its cost-sharing for land clearing, the ACP is promoting output of other farm products as alternatives to wood. Many consultants regard the program's subsidy for tree planting as an unnecessarily expensive way to get the job done.

Only one-fourth made neutral comments and fewer than a sixth gave no response or a brief negative reply, such as "No effect" or "No contact." A fair number of such noncommittal comments are reasonable, as there are still counties in the South where forestry practices are not included in the ACP practices approved by the county committees.

Following the ACP in the question on how various programs influenced the consultant's practice were six institutions: the Cooperative Forest Management Program, Extension Service forestry, state forest fire protection, state forest nurseries, the Soil Conservation Service, and industrial forestry programs.

The strongest reactions were those to the Cooperative Forest Management Program (or CFM) program.

Cooperative forest management.--Probably no government activity touches consultants more closely than the CFM program. As the name implies, the program is planned and supervised cooperatively by state forestry departments and a division of the U.S. Forest Service. CFM foresters are public employees, administered by the forestry departments but financed partly by federal funds. They are normally called service foresters. Although they are not authorized to provide all services, they offer many of the same services to landowners and wood-processing firms that consultants do. Most authorized services are provided free or, in some states, at a nominal fee.

Competition does not end there. The success of both consultant and CFM service forester depends largely on attracting numerous clients. The type of landowner sought differs, however. Most consultants prefer to have a comparatively small number of clients with large acreages, whereas service foresters are expected to handle a large number of clients.

The time spent with one client in most states is limited to three days a year, but in certain states it is five days. One consultant complained that service foresters sometimes exceed five days or 100 acres per client; another said his "main objection is cases where they left the owner hanging . . . and a consultant was hired without knowing how far the work had progressed." Far from being critical of the CFM program in his state, a third consultant said, "They do a lot of leg work for me; so I'm glad for them to handle any jobs taking less than five days." He reported receiving good referrals from the state men.

Somewhat less than half the responses could be classed as favorable, but only a fourth were negative.

Half of the interviewed men reported that they receive referrals from service foresters or other members of the state forestry staff. An additional eighth, who had not personally received referrals, said that state forestry people are helpful in publicizing work of consultants or that they make referrals.

The most common complaint is that CFM foresters compete with consultants for clients. Typical comments are: "Free services by service foresters are excessive, especially on ownerships where consultants could be economically hired." "I lost three clients because, as one said, 'I like their price better than yours' . . . . The [state forestry department] is hot after jobs in this area." One critic said, "They've sewed up marking . . . done below cost . . . ." He reported CFM charges of only 25 cents a seed tree, with a minimum of $1 an acre and a maximum of $2.50, and a rate of $3 an hour to mark for thinning. "Their initial forest management plan is free."

Many consultants believe that CFM foresters give too much service. A typical comment was: "They . . . should be limited to recommendations." Another respondent said: "The original concept [of the service forester] was to give advice to the landowner on proper forestry procedures--not to serve as manager of his forest year after year. If forestry is not economic enough to pay for itself and for service, we should stop to consider whether we should pay for uneconomic service. [The state] . . . offers marking, management, planting, and timber stand improvement for a fee but should not be in these aspects of forestry. It should work on education, fire protection, and nursery production. Regarding fees for services, complaints were voiced that nominal fees are charged in a few states. Consultants proposed that, to avoid misleading landowners about the actual costs, all services should "either be free or charged at full rate."

One frequent contention is that many service foresters are less experienced than consultants. Of course, many consultants gained their early experience as service foresters.

Another contention, voiced by a few consultants, is that service foresters' price quotations to potential sellers of marked timber tend to be high and therefore harmful.

The few remaining criticisms of the CFM fall into two categories: first, that service foresters give incomplete service, and second, that some of them use unethical practices, the most common being "moonlighting," or doing private consulting in addition to or in conjunction with their work for the CFM Program.

Extension Service.--The consensus appeared to be that extension foresters are helpful in promoting forestry through education, demonstrations, and written and oral presentations. Although they do some cruising and marking, it was usually reported that extension foresters "are not terrible competition" and that they do make referrals to consultants.

State forest fire protection.--Two-thirds of the comments about state fire protection programs were favorable and most of these were highly complimentary.

Consultants in four states praised the state organizations for providing fireline plowing at nominal cost as a preventive measure on private lands. In three of these states plus one other, they applauded fire crews for also standing by--at no charge--during controlled burning.

The typical attitude Southwide is epitomized by this comment: "Necessary. [The state's program] lowers the risk factor to less than a 1 percent burn. It is very effective and therefore encourages forest management through protection. Its main effectiveness has been through prevention and education." As one consultant put it, "Protection encourages some people . . . to grow trees as a crop."

Although acreage protected against fire has been increasing markedly throughout the South, coverage is still not complete. As one consultant mentioned, "Lack of protection in [Blank] County deterred forestry investment." Several consultants contended that state forest fire protection is underfinanced.

Nurseries.--Three-fifths of the comments about state forest nurseries were favorable. Hardly any (3 percent) were negative.

A typical positive remark was, "State forest nurseries are helpful in providing trees at nominal rates. Good stock is delivered to a nearby town on a reliable schedule." One of the more enthusiastic men said his state's nurseries supply "100 percent better seedlings than [those from an adjacent state] or most industry seedlings."

On the critical side, one consultant felt that his state's forest nurseries were "OK, but sometimes sacrifice quality for cost--could charge more and owners wouldn't mind (for higher quality)."

Soil Conservation Service.--Consultants were critical of Soil Conservation Districts and the SCS. A scant two-fifths of the men approved.

In general, consultants' comments indicated that they think mostly in terms of their relationships to SCS agents or work-unit conservationists rather than to Soil Conservation Districts, which are citizen-staffed. The diversity among effects of agents was well summarized by one consultant of long experience, who pointed out that SCS relationships are "personalized and vary with the viewpoints of the local boys. There is no pattern. Some are only concerned with farmland; others want to take in all the forest land."

In one state a consultant said that he and the "SCS agent have a good relationship. General forestry recommendations have been made [by the agent] but nothing specific. He makes referrals to consultants and has good consciousness of forest needs and recognizes his own limitations."

Another consultant reported that the SCS makes many referrals. "I get most of my business from them. There is some competition with marking jobs, but I give cooperative assistance by showing SCS men how to mark in problem situations." Another was pleased that "SCS woodland recommendations specify contacting foresters."

Several consultants believe that the SCS has few professional foresters, and that, as one put it, the agents "overdo the forestry bit." A majority seemed to agree with one who stated that SCS agents "should limit their work to farming and take less activity in forestry. Some forestry recommendations are ill-advised and not in the owner's interest."

Another opinion, probably of a minority of consultants, was that although SCS thinning prescriptions may not be as good as a professional forester's, they are "better than nothing--better than letting someone in to cut it all."

Industrial forestry programs.--Three-eighths of the evaluations of industrial forestry programs were mildly favorable, a fourth were negative, and a fourth were equally divided between neutral and balanced. Thus, the favorable comments were only a little less frequent than for CFM.

The most common critical comments dealt with competition and bias. On the subject of competition, one consultant believed that paper company efforts were originated to supplement consultants' services by helping poor owners. "Now they're too busy fighting each other, and any effect is competitive." "Paper companies offer management services to try to get long-term contracts. They probably will eventually take over most services except independent appraisals."

A few consultants mentioned that, in exchange for free management services, pulp and paper companies usually insist on first refusal rights on all timber to be sold. One man said that these companies are "the biggest competitor we have--more than all the government services combined." A nearby consultant reported, "They are definitely in competition with the consultants, but I doubt that there are enough consultants to handle all the work; therefore they have their place."

There is wide variation in competitive effect of industrial programs. One man whose clients were concentrated in two states considered the company competition as "not bad in [one state], but rough in [the other state], where they offer all services to the landowner."

In regard to bias, one man, a pulpwood dealer himself in addition to being a consultant, was very much concerned about the ethics involved. Industrial forestry programs, as he saw them, "are entirely too self-oriented to a specific product--say, pulpwood." He pointed out that some paper-company foresters prescribe management programs which result in pulpwood rotations.

In contrast, several consultants credit industry with creating a demand for their services. They said that industrial programs educate the public by example on the benefits of forestry. Aside from providing a market for timber, industry helps to promote planting by providing seedlings and, in some cases, paying a bonus for wood from managed tracts.

The data provided by consultants indicate that about 19 million acres of forest and potential forest land were serviced by approximately 375 consultants in the South in 1966. Since there are about 145 million acres of nonindustrial private forest land in the South, almost eight times as many consultants could be employed to good advantage here. This multiplier is based on the assumption that the characteristics of additional consultants would approximate those of the current group. To earn a reasonable livelihood, they would, of course, have to be effectively distributed geographically. In addition, they would have to be free of competition from other programs and institutions.

Competition from public and private programs is the chief source of consultants' complaints. For the most part, however, they accept the need for both industrial and government programs, despite shortcomings. They find that these programs motivate landowners through public relations, by example, and by offering free or low-cost services and seedlings. Such groundwork develops potential clients for consultants. In addition to mentally conditioning the public, ~~and~~ the programs benefit forestry by developing stable markets and creating legal and tax environments conducive to long-term forest management. They also give young foresters the opportunity to gain experience necessary for independent consulting.

As a final frame in this panorama of the current roles of forestry consultants, let's remember that there is neither a typical forestry consultant nor a typical consulting operation. Individuals have a variety of talents, educational backgrounds, training, experience, interests, and reputations. In general, a consultant is well qualified to handle the jobs he undertakes. Because he offers his professional services in an open market, he must satisfy his clients to remain in business.

He can serve as either a production manager or an advisor or both. As a production manager, he gets the woods work done and the forest products sold at the best price possible. As an advisor, he gathers information about the forest, the market for products, and the sources of equipment and supplies needed for forest management. He evaluates this information for his clients to give them a sound basis for deciding among the choices that are open to them. By advising them, he helps his clients become well informed forest managers. In these ways he serves a most important role in developing the economy of the rural South.

And let's encourage further progress with a preview of conceivable coming developments, with full awareness that sustained forest production benefits industry in particular and society in general, as well as individual landowners. If the roles served by consultants were adequately recognized, the costs of their services might be borne more equitably--according to the benefits produced. Local, state, and federal governments and wood-using industries might well pursue the joint employment of forestry consultants on private land to help us move more effectively toward satisfying the rapidly increasing timber needs of society.

A STUDY OF LAND-GRANT COLLEGE AND TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY STAFFS' PERCEPTION OF THE RAPID ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM CONCEPT

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As organizations develop program concepts and commit resources to action, two major questions should be asked: (1) Is the concept generally accepted among those involved? and (2) What is the degree of consensus existing among those who must implement the program concept? Recently a study was made to find the answer to the second question with regard to the Rapid Adjustment Program (RAP).

The RAP is a cooperative Land-Grant College (LGC) - Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) program that was initiated in 1961. The states involved were Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Objectives of RAP were to:

1. Determine types and rates of adjustment possiblities for representative sets of available agricultural resources within the Tennessee Valley.

2. Demonstrate income possibilities on efficiently operated and managed farm units.

3. Determine and demonstrate the role of fertilizer in farm adjustments and resource development.

4. Obtain and refine input-output data for Tennessee Valley agriculture.

5. Identify problems impeding agricultural adjustments.

It was referred to as RAP because cooperating farmers were to, within 3-5 years, institute a management program and related changes that normally take 10-15 years to develop. Management programs on 87 farms had been established at the time of this study. These RAP farms were to serve as field laboratories where the latest production and management practices would be applied. In the process LGC-TVA officials envisioned that the professional (agricultural) workers involved would improve their competency and knowledge in the new management areas.

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Communication and Concept Formation

Klausmeier and Goodwin (1961, pp. 211-255) indicated that a concept may be viewed as a construct of thought which is unique to each individual. This individual uniqueness suggests that concepts can not be communicated directly. Thus, verbal descriptions and visual representations are useful in helping others to acquire a concept. With communication being a vital part of concept formation and essential to any educational process, a model (Figure 1) has been structured to show the RAP in the communication process as discussed by Berlo (1960).

The model illustrates how research serves to describe present production levels and to establish production potentials. Present aggregate production levels reflect the competence of farm operators, while the competence of specialists and research personnel is reflected in production levels on research farms. The RAP provides the process through which innovative ideas and technology may be refined and communicated to professional agricultural workers who use various means of communication to improve the competence of farm operators. Communication from research to farm operators is viewed as an interaction process with communication flowing in both directions, but with farm operators improving in competence as the process continues.

The area of language and terminology used in this study for determining the respondents' concept of RAP are outlined in Figure 2. Rapid Adjustment Program is the macro-concept with objectives, function, use, clientele, task, evaluation as micro-concepts.

Objectives, for purposes of this study, were viewed as the ends or changes sought by the actors of a social system. Organizations pursue such changes through collaborative interaction of members and the relevant groups with which they relate. Whatever the methods used in achieving goals, the organization will have priorities set on those to be attained first (Loomis, 1960).

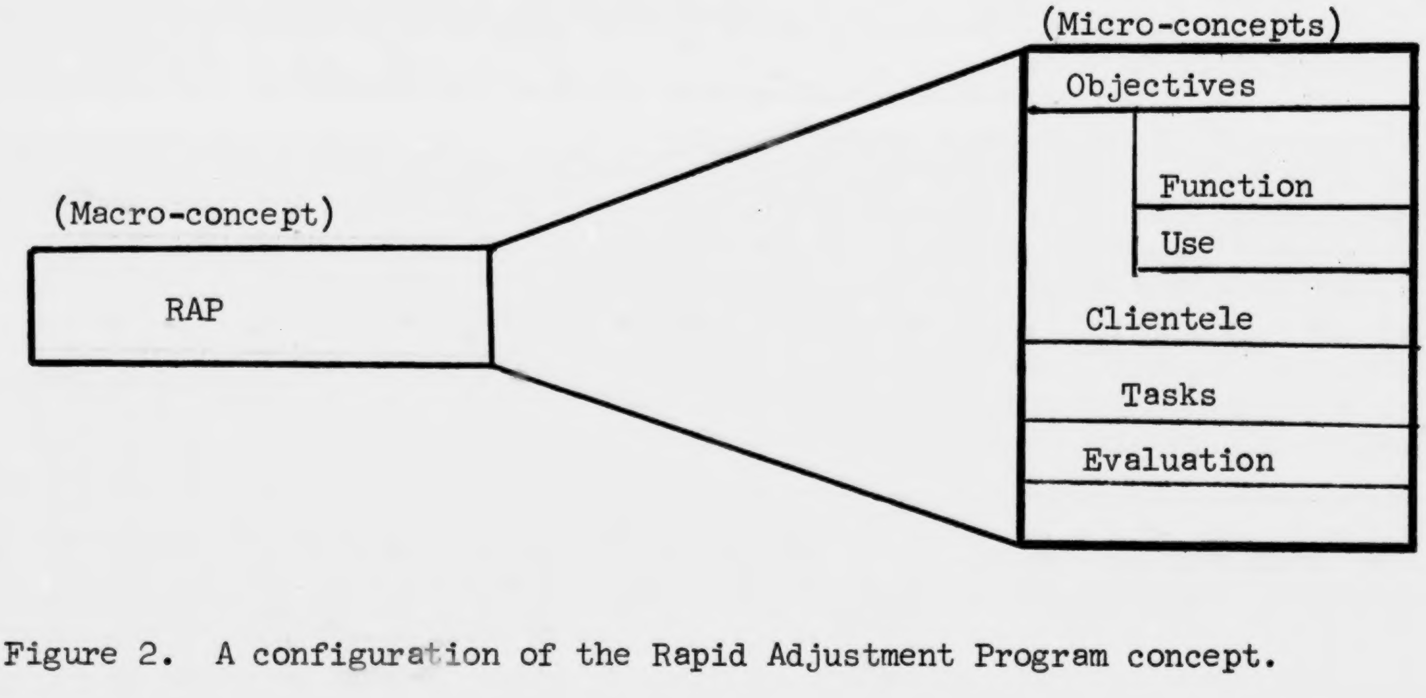

Figure 2. A configuration of the Rapid Adjustment Program concept.

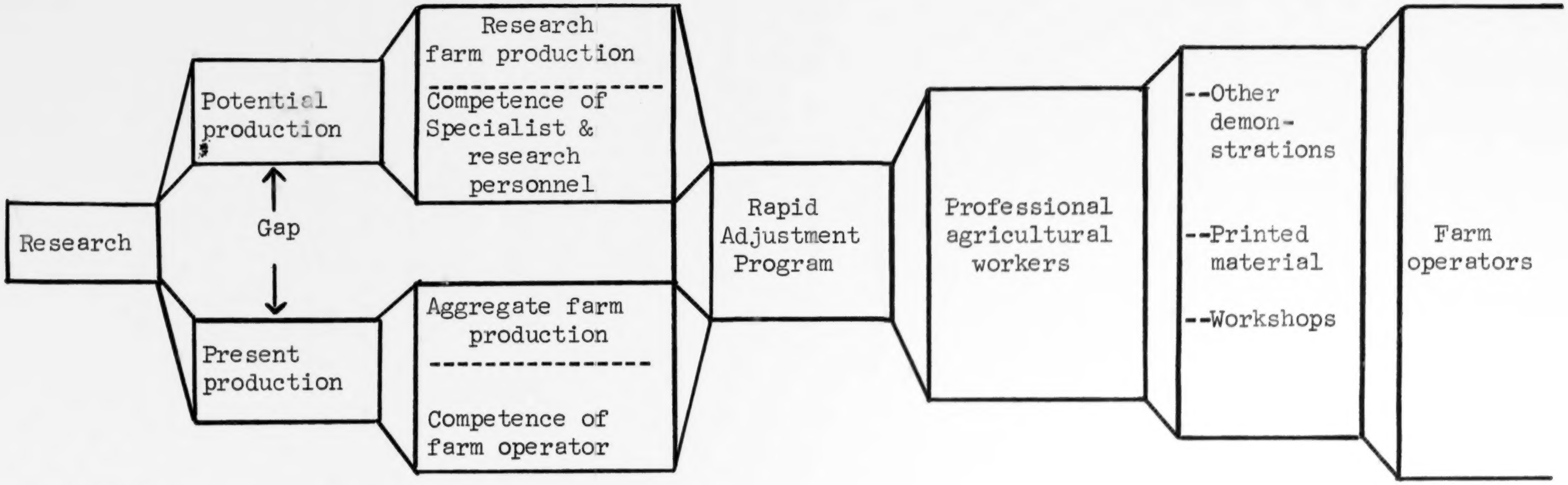
Research
Potential production
Gap
Present production
Research farm production
Competence of Specialist & research personnel
Aggregate farm production
Competence of farm operator
Rapid Adjustment Program
Professional agricultural workers
--Other demonstrations
--Printed material
--Workshops
Farm operators

Figure 1. The Rapid Adjustment Program and the communication process

In an effort to establish more accurately the priority of objectives and to establish program context, two subsets of items relating to objectives were prepared for respondent reaction. These items emphasized program function and use.

Clientele are described by Pfiffner and Presthus (1967) as the major group served by the program effort. Considering effectiveness and efficiency of an educational resource such as RAP, one should try to obtain participation of those who will provide the greatest return for inputs of resources.

Tasks are viewed in terms of those activities to be performed in the normal processes of RAP. Emphasis of this research was not to measure the perceived importance of each task, but to determine the perceived interrelationship between the LGC and TVA concerning the tasks to be performed in implementing the concept.

Evaluation criteria are those observations that tell one how well the objectives of the program are being accomplished. Consistency between criteria for evaluation and stated objectives should be reflective of the level of concept understanding.

Data related to these elements were used to provide the context of measurement for the RAP concept. The measurement was then compared with factors postulated to influence perception.

Bonner (1953) indicated that perception of ideas and of surroundings in general is never a simple process. Comprehension usually involves several determinants that combine to make up one's experience. Thus, it was postulated that LGC and TVA respondents' perception of each of the major elements of the RAP concept would vary with the respondents':

1. Organizational association,
2. Position in the organization,
3. Tenure within the organization,
4. Level of formal education,
5. Major area of study for highest degree,
6. Time devoted to program.[1]

Procedures

Data were collected by use of a mail questionnaire. The respondents for the study were employees of LGC and TVA who were or had been associated with the RAP. A total of 188 employees--29 from TVA and 159 from LGC--completed the questionnaire--45 administration, 93 county and area staff, 50 specialists.

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[1] Although each of these variables was shown to be significantly related to perception of the RAP concept, organization and position will provide the primary observations in this paper.

Percentage distribution, mean weighted scores, and rank orders were utilized in developing the descriptive discussions. The chi-square test was used to determine the level of significance between the independent variables and perception of the various elements of RAP. Values below the .05 level of probability were considered to be nonsignificant.

Findings

Objectives

Respondents were given a list of 18 objective statements that dealt with adjustment problems facing farmers in the Tennessee Valley. These statements ranged in scope from situations dealing with specific problems, such as efficient utilization of labor, to evaluating alternative use of resources. For each of the 18 statements, respondents were asked to indicate the degree of consideration it should receive in the RAP effort, i.e., major, average, or minor consideration. These objectives were then ranked in order of consideration. The objective placed first was an objective which emphasized teaching the cooperator how to evaluate alternative use of resources. It was not among those originally listed as a program objective. Objectives 1 and 2 of RAP were rated second and third, respectively in the rank order analysis. The eight lowest ranking statements were dropped from the analysis due to lack of consideration given them.

Among those statements deleted were two of the stated objectives of RAP. These were:

Objective No. 3. Determine and demonstrate the role of fertilizer in facilitating farm adjustments and resource development.

Objective No. 5. Identifying problems impeding agricultural adjustments.

When the six independent variables of the study were associated with degree of consideration for selected program objectives, one observed that:

- The LGC respondents tended to perceive RAP in terms of educational objectives, i.e., teaching cooperators whereas TVA respondents tended to perceive the program in terms of providing guidance to the organization and use of resources.

- Perception of the broader objectives--reflective of policy and philosophy--was associated with organization whereas perception of the more specific objectives dealing with such things as labor problems and livestock was associated with position.

Questions about RAP's program function were structured to provide an additional measure of the respondents' perception of the RAP objectives. They were asked to rank as first, second, and third, three of the six statements that best described their perception of the function of RAP. This ranking showed variations in perception similar to those just described.

That is, statements emphasizing education and increased income of the cooperator were rated higher by the LGC employees than by TVA employees; whereas, statements emphasizing resource development were rated higher by TVA employees than by the LGC employees.

In an attempt to obtain an indication of the perceived context of use in which the RAP was viewed with respect to the respondents' educational responsibility, they were asked to select one of two statements:

1. RAP is a focal point around which educational efforts in farm management may be developed.

2. RAP provides useful information which lends support to an educational effort in farm management for which I am responsible.

Organizational association and tenure within the organization were found to be significantly associated with variation in perception of program use. Although the majority of the respondents from both organizations viewed RAP as the main feature of their farm management program, TVA employees rated this orientation higher than did the LGC employees. Thus, LGC employees viewed RAP as one of many elements in their farm management program.

Clientele

The clientele of any program effort is important in that program objectives should, to a large extent, be based on problems, needs, and demands of those to be served. The respondents were asked to rank a list of nine clientele groups from one through nine in the order or priority which they felt should be given to each group in the educational efforts of the RAP. These were later classified into four groups: (1) farmers, (2) action-oriented professionals, (3) research personnel, and (4) agribusiness.

Farmers and action-oriented professionals were recognized as the two major clientele groups. Variation in perception of the group that should receive first priority was highly associated with organization and position. Farmers rated first by a larger percentage of the LGC staff than by the TVA staff. They received their highest rating from the county and area staffs. Action-oriented professionals were rated first by a larger percentage of TVA staff than by LGC staff. They received their highest rating from the specialists. The group rated first by TVA respondents and LGC and TVA specialists was consistent with the clientele group identified in the communication model (Figure 1). The group rated first by the LGC respondents and particularly the LGC county and area staff is to be the ultimate benefactor of the RAP, but was not "intended" as the primary clientele of the RAP.

Tasks

The goals and orientation of the RAP concept are thought to be far removed from a task-centered endeavor. For every organizational or program effort, however, the work to be done must be considered in terms of the tasks emcompassed in a particular job. It is through the grouping, organizing, and ultimate assigning of tasks that direction of effort and efficiency of organization are attained. Thus it is also important, in a cooperative effort of two or more organizations, to understand the contribution that each organization is expected to render toward the attainment of goals.

The respondents were given a list of 12 tasks that were considered essential to the implementation of the RAP concept and were asked to designate whether they thought the task should be done by TVA, LGC, or jointly by the two organizations. Almost no respondents (not over 3 percent in any case) felt TVA should assume full responsibility for performance of any of the 12 tasks that are encompassed in the implementation of the RAP concept. For seven of these tasks, a majority of the respondents felt that the responsibility should be shared jointly between LGC and TVA. Those tasks perceived as joint responsibility dealt with collecting information, identifying problems, developing objectives, determining priority of problems, selecting the cooperating farmer, developing educational materials, and evaluation. The five tasks viewed to be primarily the tasks of LGC involved analyzing information, developing alternative farm plans, supervising the farm operation, and the organization and teaching of clientele groups. From these observations, one may generalize that those tasks considered to be in the service category were viewed to be most appropriate for a joint effort, while those involving direct contact with clientele were seen to be the responsibility of the LGC. These findings are in keeping with the underlying agreement between the LGC and TVA; i.e., the LGC were to be responsible for program implementation at the "field level."

Little of the variation in perception on who should perform the different tasks was significantly related to the independent variables. However, determining the priority of problems and selecting the cooperating farmers were two tasks that were perceived significantly different by the two organizations; the LGC was viewed as the organization to do these tasks by a much larger percentage of the LGC staff than by the TVA staff. Over two-thirds of the TVA staff viewed these tasks to be joint responsibilities. Position in the organization also was significantly related to variation in the view of who should determine the priority or problems to be worked on. Almost half of the LGC county and area staff saw this to be the responsibility of the LGC. For task performance, then, the major source of conflict between the two organizations involved deciding on priority of problems and selecting the cooperating farmers.

Evaluation

Probably the two basic questions in evaluation are: First, did one do what was intended? Second, were the procedures and techniques effective? The interest of this study, then, was to obtain an indication of the type of evaluation criteria that is perceived to be important with regard to RAP. The respondents were given a list of 17 statements from which they were asked to rank as first, second, and third the three statements which, in their opinion, would provide the best indications of program success.

The three criteria most often mentioned for evaluating the RAP included four important considerations encompassed in the RAP concept. The first-ranked criterion was "change in net income of the cooperator."

This simply asked the question--Did the combination of resources behave as predicted? The second-ranked criterion was "effectiveness of data collected from the Rapid Adjustment farms in developing commercial agriculture in the Valley." This criterion asked--Are those things being done that will provide the most guidance to others? The third-ranked criterion was "the number of professionals who mastered the fundamentals of the RAP and who have been successful in getting other farmers to adopt the process." Two questions seemed to stand out in this criterion--Are professionals finding learning experiences to be provided by the RAP? and, Has provision been made for the follow-through obtained in involving other farmers in the learning process? The variation in respondents' perception of which of these criteria should be rated first was significantly related to all independent variables except time devoted to the program. Although there was significant variation in perception of these ideas as evaluation criteria, in total, they seemed to the writers to present a more comprehensive perception of the RAP than was reflected by other elements of the concept.

Summary

The establishment of objectives and acceptance of these objectives provide a major source of energy for the implementation of a program concept within an organization. Commitment to objectives becomes even more important when two or more organizations must cooperate in such endeavors. The emphasis of LGC respondents on maximizing income and teaching other farmers as compared to TVA respondents' emphasis on resource use and testing of concepts indicates a difference in philosophical orientation of the two organizations. Assuming that a real difference does exist, then there is a need for mutual understanding between and among those staff members who are responsible for the program development and implementation. It is not suggested that polar positions of the two organizations be emphasized, but that both TVA and LGC should recognize existing differences so that compatible goals of the two organizations may be more effectively implemented.

Next to objectives, clientele becomes one of the more important considerations of any program endeavor. Professional agricultural workers were initially considered to be the primary clientele group of the RAP. However, respondents of this study perceived farmers and farm families to be the clientele group that should receive first priority of the RAP. This first-priority rating of farmers and farm families implies that a more meaningful concept of the RAP and its relationship to clientele groups needs to be developed. This was especially indicated for the county and area staffs and to a considerable extent for administrators. Specialists tended to perceive professional agricultural workers as the clientele group that should receive first priority in the RAP.

The concept of a cooperative effort could be improved with greater clarity of the relationship that should exist in the performance of tasks to implement the program. In general, the respondents agreed that the LGC should have the responsibility for execution of the program with clientele groups. Additionally, there was general agreement that the service aspects of the program, such as data collection and analysis, selecting problems and objectives, and evaluation should be joint responsibilities. However, there seemed to be enough people whose views were in conflict on determining priorities and selecting cooperators that uncertainty of relationships was indicated.

Communication is considered as a master process in a social system. Additionally, communication provides the significant symbols and channels for interaction in concept formation. Improved ways of communicating the RAP concept were suggested by the association of independent variables with respondents' perception. In particular, there was indicated a need for greater involvement of groups other than specialists, i.e., county and area staffs and administrators.

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SOCIAL AND MATERIAL ORIENTATIONS OF WORKERS IN A MANPOWER RELOCATION PROGRAM*

by David C. Ruesink and Michael C. Kleibrink

Introduction

Many parts of the United States such as the lower Rio Grande Valley in Texas have pockets of underemployment characterized by low levels of living. At the same time there are other areas of the United States characterized by extremely low unemployment rates and a relatively high level of living. In order to maintain a balanced employment rate for the entire society several attempts have been made to get people to relocate from the area of high underemployment (supply area) to the area of high employment opportunities (demand area).

Based on economic motivation alone, it would be expected that if the level of living in the demand area was sufficiently higher than in the supply area the relocatee would tend to remain in the demand area. This, however, has not been the case. Many relocated workers give up the prospect of economic success and return to the supply area.

Two theories exist which might be used to explain why relocated workers give up the prospect of success and return to the supply area where economic opportunities are fewer. The first theory suggests that members of different subcultures have different goal structures. This theory implies that economic success is not a true goal in lower classes or for some subcultures (Hyman, 1963). The second theory states that while there is a common set of goals within the American society, certain subcultures or classes perceive some of these goals to be blocked. Here the theorists say that economic success is a common goal but that some individuals do not have the means to gain economic success (Merton, 1968).

Regardless which of these two theories one uses, the results are the same. Those individuals involved develop a set of common subcultural or class goals which may or may not conflict with societal goals. Where goal structures clash, the possibility of relocation is made more difficult.

The purpose of this paper is to discover whether the economic success goal becomes more dominant over time for a group composed primarily of Mexican Americans who were trained in the supply area then moved to a metropolitan area where they became aircraft assemblers. It is assumed that economic success as a value is indicated by a de-emphasis of social orientations (ties which include the community of origin, extended family, etc.) and an increase in material orientations (emphasis on money, higher level of living, skill development, etc.).

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Methods and Procedures

Over a period of one year starting in October, 1968, 684 men from a four county area of South Texas were trained to be aircraft assemblers then relocated to the Dallas metropolitan area where they began work for Ling-Temco-Vought (LTV) Inc. Most of the men (about ninety percent) were Mexican American. In a paper presented at last year's Southern Agricultural Workers Meeting, it was reported that 93 percent of the relocatees were still employed by LTV sixty days after relocation (Ruesink and Batson, 1968). As of January 1, 1970, there were 61 percent employed by LTV. This is 15 months after the last relocatee moved to the Dallas area.

All those trainees who relocated during the month of May, 1968, were selected as a sample and are being interviewed every six months beginning one month after relocation. Data for this report were obtained from 33 individuals who were interviewed at one, six, and twelve months after relocating to the Dallas vicinity. Interviews were conducted in the homes of the respondents. Wives and children were often present, but the husband usually answered most of the questions. Several types of questions were used in the attempt to measure the adjustment of not only the worker but also his family, to his new job and the urban area. No response and non applicable responses to the questions were omitted from the analysis.

Findings

Social Orientations. When comparisons are made over the one, six, and twelve month periods after relocating, one social orientation of importance is the decline in the rate of visiting to the supply area. Even after 12 months in the new setting, most relocatees indicated they were still visiting the home area about once every three or four months (Table 1).

Table 1. Percentage Distribution for Frequency of Visits to South Texas by Amount of Time After Relocation

Frequency of Visits	6 Months (N=29)	12 Months (N=32)
At least once every two months	48.3	15.6
About three or four times per year	48.3	84.4
Never	3.4	
Total	100.0	100.0

Another social orientation is the amount of contact maintained with the supply area through correspondence. A slow but steady decline is seen for the number who write to friends and relatives at least once per week after one year away from South Texas, with 67 percent compared to 93% reporting the same frequency after one month (Table 2).

Table 2. Percentage Distribution for Frequency of Correspondence to Friends and Relatives in South Texas by Amount of Time After Relocation

Frequency of Correspondence	1 Month (N=30)	6 Months (N=29)	12 Months (N=31)
At least once every week	93.3	75.9	67.7
Less than once every week	6.7	17.2	19.4
Never		6.9	12.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Still another social orientation is maintaining contact with South Texas friends and relatives by telephone. Most of the relocatees are using the telephone at least once per month after being away from South Texas for a year (Table 3). Very little difference over time showed up for those who make calls at least weekly. There appears to be considerable substitution of telephoning for letter writing. Some of this is explained by having telephones installed in the houses after living in the Dallas area for a few months.

Table 3. Percentage Distribution for Frequency of Telephone Calls Made Between Relocatees and South Texans by Amount of Time After Relocation.

Frequency of Phone Calls	1 Month (N=33)	6 Months (N=33)	12 Months (N=32)
At least once every week	24.2	27.3	25.0
Between once per week and once per month	18.2	18.2	43.8
Less than once per month	12.1	15.1	3.1
Never	45.5	39.4	28.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Economic Orientations. Economic or material orientations which changed over time included such items as the number of relocatees with savings accounts. One, six, and twelve months after relocation the percentage with savings programs was roughly 25, 75, and 95 percent, respectfully (Table 4).

Table 4. Percentage Distribution of Respondents Having Savings Accounts by Amount of Time After Relocation

Have Account	1 Month (N=33)	6 Months (N=33)	12 Months (N=31)
Yes	27.3	75.8	93.5
No	72.7	24.2	6.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Another material orientation is manifest by attempts to borrow money. The longer relocatees stayed in the area, the more it became necessary for them to borrow money, with changes being nearly 25, 50, and 75 percent after one, six, and twelve months (Table 5).

Table 5. Percentage Distribution of Respondents Attempting to Borrow Money by Amount of Time After Relocation

Attempt to Borrow	1 Month (N=31)	6 Months (N=33)	12 Months (N=32)
Yes	25.8	48.5	71.9
No	74.2	51.5	28.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

When asked about the amount of training or education they would like to have, a decided trend away from college to technical training showed up (Table 6). Trade school or technical training seem to be much more realistic for them to obtain.

Table 6. Percentage Distribution of Respondents Indicating Type Education Desired by Amount of Time After Relocation

Type of Education Desired	1 Month (N=20)	6 Months (N=14)	12 Months (N=15)
College	35.0	14.3	13.3
High School	20.0	28.6	33.3
Trade School	5.0	35.7	46.7
Undecided	40.0	21.4	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Social and Economic Orientations. Both social and economic indicators are found when relocatees respond to the question, "If you could have the job you want most and be able to live anywhere in the United States, where would you most prefer to live?" Dallas preferences increased over time with none preferring Dallas after one month but about one out of five indicating Dallas after living there one year (Table 7). Most of the explanations for this included something concerning more employment opportunities if the LTV work were no longer available. Some of the younger relocatees indicated that they simply wanted to get away from South Texas because they saw very little future there for them.

Table 7. Percentage Distribution of Respondents Indicating Residential Preferences by Amount of Time After Relocation

Residential Preference	1 Month (N=31)	6 Months (N=33)	12 Months (N=32)
South Texas	77.4	54.5	62.5
Dallas		12.1	21.9
Other	22.6	33.4	15.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

One other measure of comparison between social and economic orientations was obtained for only those who were interviewed after 12 months in the new location. Participants were asked to rank four items to be considered as important for considering a neighborhood in which to live. Economic indicators of closeness to work and closeness to shopping areas ranked higher than closeness to Spanish speaking people and closeness to parks. Earlier work by Hayner (1945) indicated that the social considerations should have been expected to rank higher than they did. Closeness to parks was to be association with the Spanish plaza where much of the leisure time is enjoyed in Old Mexico. The relocatees indicated, however, that parks in the U.S. have a different meaning to them than do plazas in Mexico.

Conclusion

Based on the findings above it seems that most of the workers are strengthening their material orientations significantly while at the same time social contacts with people in the supply area are being maintained through secondary means of telephone calls with a decline in direct contact of visits. Where the importance of social orientations is compared with that of material orientations, material orientations take precedence over social orientations. On the other hand, after 12 months nearly 80 percent of the interviewees had at least one relative living in the demand area. The stem family concept could account for some of the transfer of social orientations from South Texas to the Dallas area.

These findings seem to indicate that the South Texas subculture includes economic success as a dominant goal, but perhaps it is suppressed, where it is more difficult to attain. As economic success goals appear blocked in the supply area for South Texans, social goals become more prominent as they can be reached by all members of the subculture. However, as economic opportunities are made available through relocation programs, South Texans tend to place a higher priority on economic goals.

The conflict between social and material goals is indicated by a statement made by one relocatee who was asked if he knew why any worker would be likely to return to South Texas. He stated, "because the people come up here, like the work but get scared, and want to go home where you are safe."

In conclusion, it appears that social and economic goals are in conflict with one another for most South Texans immediately after relocation. One goal must be substituted for the other in order to obtain economic success. Our research shows that over time social goals are being replaced by material goals. However, this is not necessary where the stem family concept is in effect. Relocated workers are being used as means for transferring other family members from the supply area to the demand area. Thus, a strong social orientation is being maintained while the potential economic success is increasing. Now social and material orientations are complimentary rather than conflicting.

Conclusions made on the above data are at best only tentative. Further research and additional measures should be utilized in order to discover how goal structures are developed. If goals of a group are considered prior to relocation then success in adjustment may be more predictable. This assumes that relocating people will be the alternative selected between the choice of whether to move people to jobs or to move industry to the people. The real question which needs answers is the social, economic, political and/or psychological costs associated with selecting each alternative. This is where additional information is desperately needed, particularly in view of the current emphasis on rural development programs.

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PARTICIPATION IN DEMONSTRATION PROGRAMS AND CHANGES IN ATTITUDES AND LEVEL OF LIVING OF AFDC MOTHERS IN TWO MISSISSIPPI COUNTIES*

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I. Introduction

The number of social welfare demonstration projects in operation around the nation has increased rapidly in recent years. Welfare recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children[1] (AFDC) have been the focus of a substantial number of such demonstration programs. Consideration is given in this paper to research undertaken to evaluate the results of a specially designed program for AFDC clients in a two-county area of Mississippi.[2]

The growing national investment in social welfare demonstration projects has not been accompanied by equal provision for research evaluation. Fürthermore, programs for which partial evaluation has been undertaken have not been assessed internally, or in reference to a control situation. The research designed for the Mississippi AFDC project was formulated as an integral part of the demonstration program and provided for a control group.

II. Purpose

The major aim of the research was to evaluate differential effects of a higher level of financial assistance and/or higher level of social or employment-related services on client and family functioning.

The purposes of this report are (1) to present a brief sketch of the research design for the larger study and (2) to examine selected data in order to assess the effect of program participation on changes in life styles and attitudes of AFDC clients. The findings suggested by this investigation are tentative subject to completion of the comprehensive analysis.

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*Presented at the ASAW Meeting, Memphis, Tenessee, February 3, 1970.

[1] The amount of financial investment in aid to families with dependent children (AFDC) continues to expand. Henry Miller, "Characteristics of AFDC Families," Social Service Review, Vol. 39 (December, 1965), pp. 399-408, reports that the 1963 investments in AFDC payments above was approximately $1,466 million plus an additional 200 million spent for administration and services. In addition, approximately 30 per cent of all welfare workers were directly involved in this program.

[2] Cooperating agencies were the Social Science Research Center, Mississippi State University, Social and Rehabilitative Services, HEW, and a specially created project staff in the Mississippi Department of Public Welfare.

III. Research Design

A "goal model" approach[3] was selected as a framework for evalauting program effectiveness. (See Chart I) The elements of this model are (1) an incoming group (Income) possessing certain population characteristics who (2) receive certain services (the Program Input-Output components) which produce (3) a desired change (Outcome), assuming that (4) certain attitudinal and cognitive changes have previously occured (the Intermediate Variables).

Method

The design developed from this model (See Chart II) called for four groups, three experimental and a control group, for which both base-line and follow-up measures would be collected to detect change in the intermediate variables. Purposive sampling of AFDC caseloads in the two counties yeilded approximately 250 clients who were randomly assigned to experimental and control groups. Contacts were made by the project staff to solicit participation in the demonstration projects.

Data

Primary sources of data were (1) structured interviews of about 1½ hours with the female clients prior to involvement in the program (the base-line measures) and again one year after the program's inception, (2) detailed records maintained by the project office, and (3) records of other institutionalized agencies such as the school systems.

Base-line measures were obtained for 231 clients. Sample mortality for the follow-up study reduced the number of cases to 224. Of this number, 43 cases had either refused to participate in the program or had become ineligible for regular AFDC assistance, eliminating them from the program and reducing the sample size for purposes of analysis to 181.

A group demographic profile of the research population is given in Table I.

Table I. Selected Demographic Characteristics of AFDC Clients, by Research Group

Characteristic	Group I Control (N=56)	Group II Work Exp. (N=31)	Group III Services (N=46)	Group IV Income (N=48)
Percent Non-white	96.4	90.3	100.	100.
Median Age	36	43	37	32
Median Years of Education	7	7	8	7
Percent Married	8.9	22.6	2.2	2.1
Percent Separated, Widowed, or Divorced	64.2	64.5	58.7	72.9
Percent Never Married	26.8	12.9	39.1	25.0
Mean Number of Children	3.9	2.9	3.8	3.9
Percent Living in Rural Areas	55.4	61.2	54.3	52.0

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[3] See Perry Lewinson, "Evaluation of Social Welfare Programs: Two Research Models," Welfare in Review, December, 1966.

CHART I

GOAL MODEL APPROACH

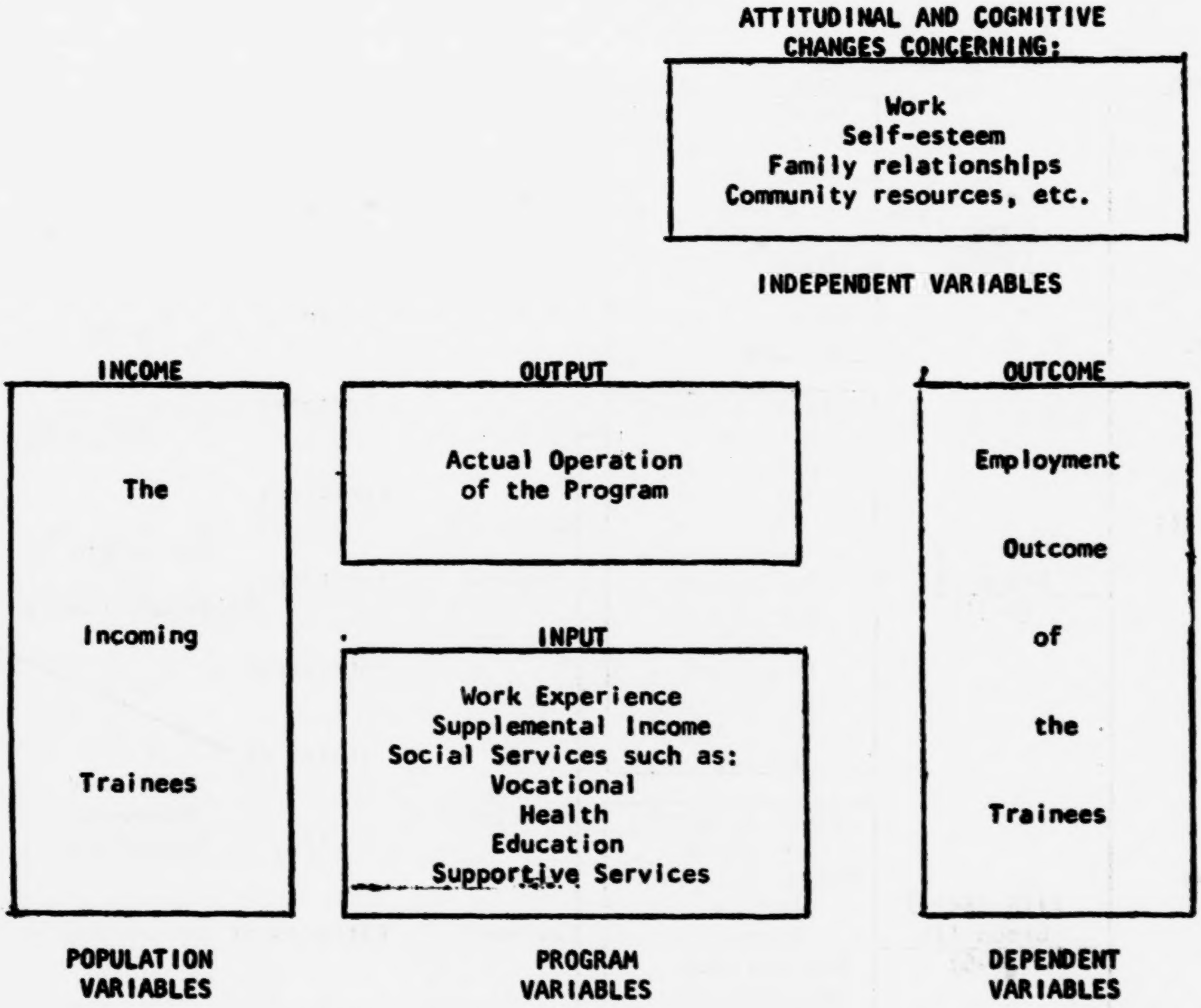
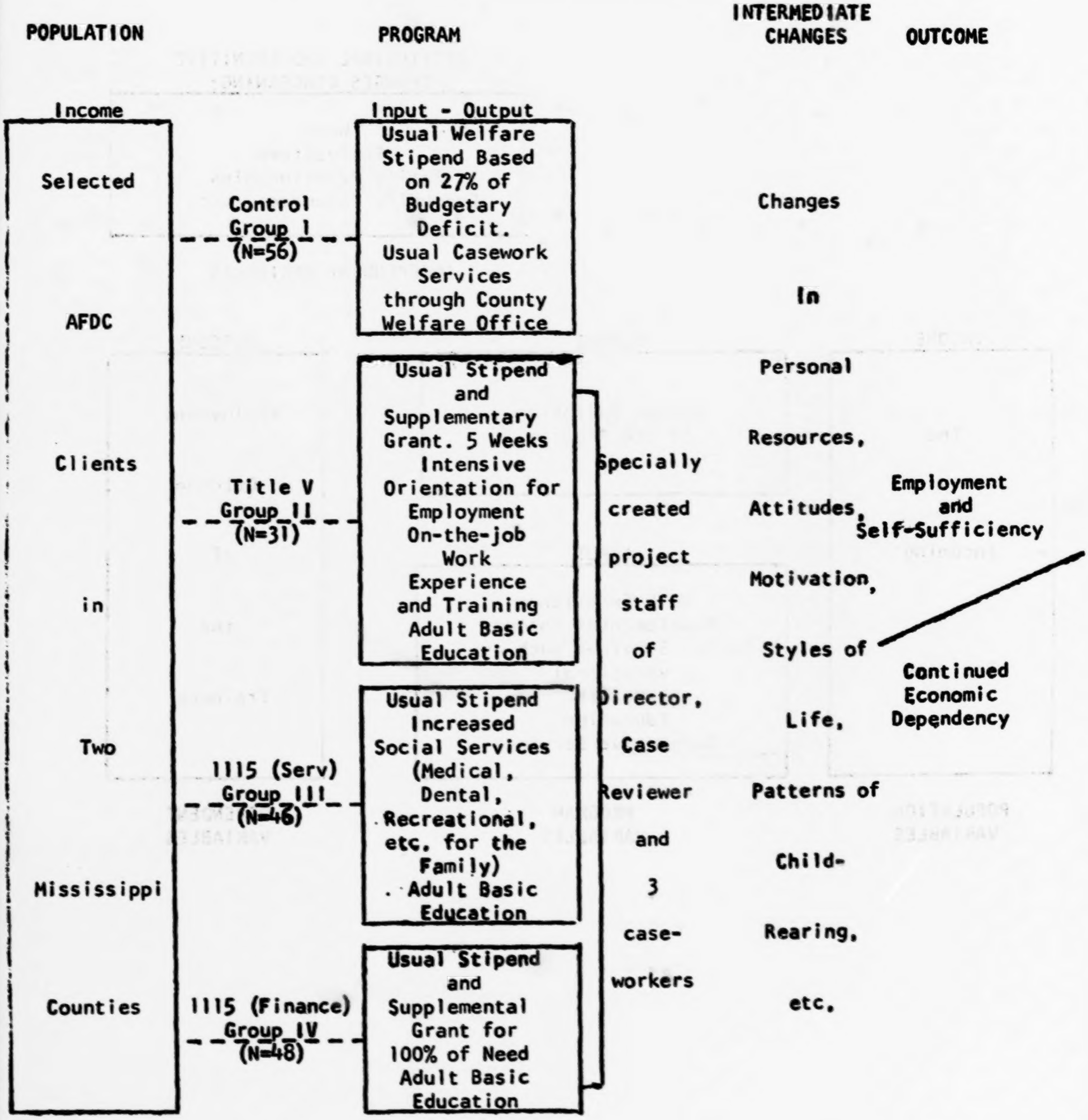

ATTITUDINAL AND COGNITIVE CHANGES CONCERNING:
Work
Self-esteem
Family relationships
Community resources, etc.
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES
INCOME
The
Incoming
Trainees
OUTPUT
Actual Operation of the Program
INPUT
Work Experience
Supplemental Income
Social Services such as:
Vocational
Health
Education
Supportive Services
OUTCOME
Employment
Outcome
of
the
Trainees
POPULATION VARIABLES
PROGRAM VARIABLES
DEPENDENT VARIABLES

CHART II

DESIGN OF AFDC RESEARCH EVALUATION PROJECT


POPULATION
PROGRAM
INTERMEDIATE CHANGES
OUTCOME
Income
Selected AFDC Clients in Two Mississippi Counties
Input - Output
Control Group I (N=56)
Usual Welfare Stipend Based on 27% of Budgetary Deficit. Usual Casework Services through County Welfare Office
Title V Group II (N=31)
Usual Stipend and Supplementary Grant. 5 Weeks Intensive Orientation for Employment On-the-job Work Experience and Training Adult Basic Education
1115 (Serv) Group III (N=46)
Usual Stipend Increased Social Services (Medical, Dental, Recreational, etc. for the Family) . Adult Basic Education
1115 (Finance) Group IV (N=48)
Usual Stipend and Supplemental Grant for 100% of Need Adult Basic Education
Specially created project staff of Director, Case Reviewer and 3 case-workers
Changes in Personal Resources, Attitudes, Motivation, Styles of Life, Patterns of Child-Rearing, etc.
Employment and Self-Sufficiency
Continued Economic Dependency

IV. Description of Demonstration Programs

The primary components of the three experimental treatments consisted of various combinations of supplemental income, work experience and training and increased social services. In the research design, Group II which was established in County A was to receive both increased financial assistance (100% of assessed need) and work experience and training services. Group III in County B was to receive increased services (i.e., medical, dental, social). Group IV, also in County B was to receive increased finanaial assistance. All three experimental groups were to participate in adult basic education classes on a regular basis. The control group drawn from both counties was to receive the level of financial support and social services generally implemented by the Mississippi Department of Public Welfare.

A summary of measures of program variables is shown in Table 2. This accounting, though non-exhaustive does serve to indicate the general type and variation of services offered the groups.

As shown in Table 2, the major program elements in Group II were work experience and training and supplemental income. The clients received work experience compatible with their education, skills, and interest. Most were employed in hospitals or schools in positions such as cafeteria worker, housekeeper, laboratory worker, and teacher's aid. Group III received special services, primarily medical, dental, and social services. The clients in this group also participated in various special activities oriented to improvement of family life. The major program variable in Group IV was increased financial assistance as each client received 100% of budgetary needs along with counseling from the group caseworker in budgeting money.

In addition members of all three groups received adult basic education services and related clothing and child care costs. Similarly, each experimental group was given special counseling by the caseworker assigned to direct the group's activities.

V. Analysis

Considered in this analysis is the effect of program participation on changes in (1) general life style and (2) attitudes and motivation of AFDC clients. Each factor has been measured along a number of dimensions. The before and after measures of the relevant indicators have been examined by computing percentages and percentage differences for each experimental and the control group. The tables contain the percentage difference or change for measurement done in the two time periods. Comparisons may be made between each experimental group and the control group.

Analysis and findings are presented in two sections. Each section contains a description of the measures, and discussion of findings suggested by the data.

Life Style

In examining the effect of program participation on change in life style, the indicators were employment status, financial status, and level of living. Percentage differences for the relevant measures are shown in Table 3.

Employment status. The three measures of employment status included (1) number currently employed (2) number employed at semi-skilled position or better and (3) number employed with minimum pay of 50 cents per hour. Examination of these data indicate a consistent positive change for Group II. A negative change on group employment appeared

Table 2. Indicators of Program Outputs, by Group.

Variable	Experimental Group		
	II (Work Exp.) (N=31)	III (Social Services) (N=46)	IV (Financial Ass't) (N=48)
A. Financial			
1. Supplemental Payments	$34,436	0	$71,673
2. Child Care and Adult Clothing	$13,570	$8,240	$5,819
3. Medical, Dental Services	$1,418	$11,439	0
4. Services for School Children (Clothing, Supplies, Lunches, etc.)	0	$15,303	0
Total	$49,424	$34,982	$77,492
B. Adult Basic Education			
1. No. of Instructional Hours	414 hrs.	120 hrs.	120 hrs.
Work Experience and Training			
1. No. of Hours on Job	24,236	0	0
2. Mean No. of Hours Worked	808	0	0
D. Special Services			
1. No. of Children Receiving Medical/Dental Exam	0	169	0
2. No. of Mothers Receiving Medical Exam	0	45	0
3. No. of Children Receiving School Supplies	0	135	0
4. No. of Children Attending Camp	0	93	0
5. No. of Special Classes Offered	0	10	10
E. Caseworker Counseling			
1. Mean Number of Home Visits	16.7	3.1	5.4
2. Mean Number of Office Contacts	11.3	18.2	8.9
3. Mean Number of Telephone Contacts	31.3	2.9	1.5

Table 3. Indicators of Life Style of AFDC Clients in Two Mississippi Counties

Life Style Measures	Group I Control (N=56)	Group II Work Exp. (N=31)	Group III Services (N=46)	Group IV Income (N=48)
	Difference Percent Positive Before and After Measures			
Employment Status				
1. Employed	+3.6	+67.7	-10.9	-20.9
2. Employment Semi-skilled or better	+10.7	+83.9	+2.1	+2.1
3. Rate of Pay--Minimum 50¢ hr.	+5.3	+51.6	+6.5	-31.2
Income				
1. Monthly Income $40 or more	0	+29.0	-24.0	+35.4
2. Income from Wages	+10.7	+25.8	+8.7	-6.2
Expenditures and Debts				
1. Minimum $40 - Food	0	+29.0	-24.0	+35.4
2. Minimum $20 - Rent	+5.4	+9.7	-4.3	+15.8
3. Minimum $10 - Doctor	-14.3	0	-17.4	+2.1
4. Minimum $10 - Clothing	-10.7	+6.5	-24.0	+16.7
5. In Debt - $25 or more	-30.4	+19.3	-23.9	-10.4
Level of Living				
1. Moderate - High on Level of Living	+17.8	+9.7	-8.7	+18.7
2. Use of Food Stamps	-3.6	-9.7	-2.2	+4.1

for Groups III and IV. The decrease in employment for Group IV was reflected, further, in the negative differences in pay rate and in income from wages.

Financial status. Groups II and IV showed a marked positive change on increase in monthly income. The supplemental income supplied to these two groups also probably accounted for the strong positive changes reflected in monthly expenditures for necessities such as food, housing, and clothing. However, the trend was not consistently maintained in degree of indebtedness. Group II showed a trend toward purchasing on installment, while the situation for Group IV was the reverse.

Level of Living. A level of living scale based on possession of items[4] in the home was derived using Guttman scaling technique. Positive change occurred for both Groups II and IV, though a strong positive change was also observed in the control group. Negative change was seen in Group III where experimental treatment emphasized improvement of home life. A second indicator of level of living was purchase of food stamps. The only positive change was seen in Group IV where monthly income has increased through program experience.

Program participation apparently was associated with some change in life style for Groups II and IV. These changes generally can be related to primary program elements. Group II which received work experience and supplemental income showed change in categories related to work and money. Group IV in which increased income was the major program component showed change in the areas related to income. The data tended to suggest a negative change for this group in employment. Substantial positive change for Group III was not indicated in any of the areas, and a negative trend appeared in categories related to money.

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[4] The 13 items in the scale were: electricity, refrigerator, stove, piped water, inside toilet, kitchen sink, freezer, telephone, newspaper, bath shower, running hot water, magazine, pick-up truck. Coefficient of reproducibility was .92 for both before and after surveys.

Attitudes

It is often accepted that psychological attributes play an important part in establishing behavior patterns. Four psychologically-related areas pertinent to general life outlook were examined. These, which are shown in Table 4, included (1) attitudes toward work, (2) feelings toward self and community, (3) attitudes toward children, and (4) attitudes concerning welfare.

Attitudes toward work. Indicators of general attitude toward work were a favorability toward work scale[5], number who aspire to a white collar job, number who expect a white collar job, number who prefer a job at the same amount over a welfare check, and number who prefer a job making $100 month more over a welfare check. The most notable difference among the groups was in Group II. This group showed negative change both in regard to favorability toward work and number aspiring to white collar jobs. These results may be due to a more realistic assessment of work roles in relation to one's own real-life situation. Work, for persons in this group, had in fact become a reality to the individual. A large negative difference was evidenced for Group II in selecting a job at the same amount over the welfare check. However, a slight positive change occurred in chosing a job with a $100 ~~increase over~~ the welfare check. Group IV showed a similar change in this category. The high positive increase for job aspiration for Group III suggests social services offered this group may have influenced a desire to improve their lot in life. However, other changes on other outlook variables do not support this supposition.

Attitudes concerning self and community. Measures for this category were attitudinal scales[6] representing (1) feelings of isolation in one's community and (2) personal feelings of powerlessness. The results in Table 4 indicate that no appreciable net change occurred on the powerlessness measure. The negative difference in Group II on feelings of isolation may indicate an increased pessimism associated with employment in a low-status job.

Attitudes concerning children. Aspirations for child's education, aspirations for child's occupation and preference of high income versus security for child were considered in assessing attitudes concerning children. All groups showed a large positive difference for aspiring to a college education for their children. The largest change was noted in Group III, though this difference was not substantially greater than the change observed in the control group. One might suspect that the recent emphasis on rights of blacks to pursue and obtain an education might have some influence on the results. When asked about job choice

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[5] This ten item scale was developed using Guttman scale analysis.

[6] A series of attitude statements frequently seen in the literature as alienation indicators formed the basis for the scales which were derived using Guttman scale analysis.

Table 4. Indicators of Attitudes of AFDC Clients in Two Mississippi Counties

Attitude Measures	Group I Control (N=56)	Group II Work Exp. (N=31)	Group III Services (N=46)	Group IV Income (N=48)
	Difference of Percent Positive Before and After Measures			
Attitudes Toward Work				
1. Favorability Toward Work	-7.1	-25.8	+2.1	0
2. Aspiring to White Collar Job	+3.6	-9.7	+17.1	0
3. Expecting White Collar Job	-5.4	0	+6.6	-4.2
4. Preference of Same Job Amount vs Welfare Check	-7.1	-42.0	-8.7	-4.1
5. Preference of Job $100 More vs Welfare Check	-3.6	+6.4	-4.4	+6.2
Attitudes Concerning Self and Community				
1. Low-Isolation Feelings	+10.8	-12.9	-4.4	+4.1
2. Low-Powerlessness Feelings	+1.8	+3.2	-6.5	-6.3
Attitudes Concerning Children				
1. Aspiring White Collar Job-Oldest Child	-3.6	+9.7	+4.3	-4.1
2. Aspiring College Education-Oldest Child	+23.2	+12.9	+26.1	+14.7
3. Preferring Good Income But Risks to Low Income Secure Job	-3.6	-12.9	-6.5	-6.2
Attitudes Toward Welfare				
1. Favorability toward Welfare Agency	-1.8	-9.7	-10.9	-10.4
2. Favorability toward Welfare Status	+1.8	0	0	+4.2

for child, Group II's members showed the greatest increase in preference for white collar employment. However, this group showed the largest negative change in preference of a good paying job with risks over a secure one with less pay.

Attitudes toward welfare. Two scales derived from attitude statements indicative of (1) feelings toward the welfare agency and (2) feelings toward being a welfare client provided the measures for this category. The results with respect to feelings toward the welfare agency show a consistent negative change for the three program groups. This perhaps reflected a sensitization to welfare administration created through program participation where less impersonal, less bureaucratic relations were employed with the clients. A slight positive increase was seen in Group IV in regard to favorable feelings toward welfare status. No change was noted for Groups II and III.

Conclusions along the same lines as those suggested for level of living may be drawn from the analysis of attitude indicators. Any changes consistently indicated by the data for a particular group were apparently influenced by the primary program variable in that particular group.

Summary

Any conclusions drawn from these data are limited by the narrowed focus of this analysis. However, the results of the analysis tend to suggest the following: (1) no overall change, i.e. on a large number of variables, occurred for any of the three experimental groups; (2) the greatest amount of change occurred in Group II; (3) the group in which the least change was observed in any category was Group III; and (4) the changes which were noted can, with few exceptions, be tied to primary program inputs.

VI. Implications

In the introduction, it was pointed out that a large number of social welfare programs similiar to the one described here have been initiated across the nation. Many of these have short-range goals and are abruptly terminated at the conclusion of the demonstration project. The fact that our analysis points to little if any substantial change with long-term benefits for the participants raises a question about the utility of such programs. Programs designed with a multi-problem approach which are also enacted over an extended period of time might prove more effective in improving life circumstances of disadvantaged groups. A multi-focused program might include provision for (1) development and utilization of vocational skills and abilities, (2) guidance and assistance, financial and otherwise, in raising standards of living, (3) counseling to remedy individual family problems (including guidance in utilization of community supportive services), and (4) enhancement of self-image and establishment of self-dependency. Also, a multi-focused program should emphasize changes in the social milieu supportive of change in the individual.

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SOUTHERN SCHOOLS AND ADOLESCENT EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

Melvin Knapp and Eliot Hammer
The University of Georgia

A persistent concern in the analysis of adolescent behavior has been to account for the variation in high school students' educational and occupational aspirations and expectations. The attempt has been to determine what are the factors associated with high or low aspirations and expectational, and, presumably, attainment. Many studies in the past decade have investigated the relation between students' plans and, such variables, as, place of residence, socioeconomic status, race, family size, parental encouragement, intelligence, values and self-image. Most of these studies tend to show a weak to moderate positive association between these variables and student plans with the exception of place or residence. The relationship between place of residence and students' plans tends to diminish when controls for intelligence and socioeconomic status are introduced into the analysis (Kuvlesky, 1969).

Most of the studies reported in the past decade, however, have paid little attention to what may be called the organizational characteristics of the school.[1] The public school is an institution within which the adolescent spends a great deal of time preparing for further training and/or future occupational positions. It also serves as the primary setting for student-peer interaction and serves as the locale for both the production and dissemination of "youth culture". Educational and occupational aspirations and expectations are likely to be an important aspect of this youth culture, especially for the high school student. If the school serves as a focal point for the dissemination of youth culture and student plans are an important part of this culture, then organizational characteristics of the school are likely to be related to adolescents' educational and occupational aspirations and expectations.

An important organizational variable of the school is the racial composition of the school. Racial composition in this paper refers to the proportion of black and white students in the school's sophomore class. Schools have been classified into three major categories on the basis of school racial composition. Schools are either 100 percent white (ALL-WHITE SCHOOLS), 100 percent black (ALL-BLACK SCHOOLS), or predominantly white where the proportion of black sophomore students ranges from 1 to 22 percent black.

The questions that have been examined concern the effect of attending either an all-white, an all-black or a predominantly white school upon 10th grade students' educational and occupational aspirations and expectations. Do black students in predominantly white high schools have higher aspirations and expectations than do black students in all-black schools? Conversely, does the integration experience of the white student have any effect upon his aspirations and expectations? These are the major research questions of this paper.

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[1] An exception is St. John's (1966) study on the effect of segregation on the educational aspirations of Negro youth.

Research dealing with the explanation of academic achievement indicates that a large proportion of the variation in student achievement can be accounted for by the social composition of a student's fellows (Coleman, et. al., 1966). Coleman and his co-workers found that "...as the educational aspirations and backgrounds of fellow students increase, the achievement of minority children increases." They conclude from their analysis that children from a given family background, when put in schools of different social composition, will achieve at quite different levels. The findings tend to show that a pupil's achievement is strongly related to the educational backgrounds and aspirations of the other students in the school.

The reasoning in the present paper is that black students attending formerly all white schools will tend to have higher educational and occupational aspirations and expectations than do black students attending all-black schools. This is derived from the point made by Coleman, et., al., (1966) that the academic achievement of minority pupils depend more upon the social composition of their fellow students than does the achievement of majority pupils. The finding was that academic achievement varied directly with the family background and educational aspirations of ones fellow students. The higher the family status and aspirations of the other students in the school the greater were minority pupils' academic achievements. Following from these points, the expectation is that the educational and occupational plans of black students will be influenced by whether they are attending a predominantly white or an all-black school.

Furthermore, the present study expects to find little or no difference between the educational and occupational plans of white students who are attending either an all-white or a predominantly white school. This is based on the idea that school composition will have little effect upon the plans of the white students. They will be attending the same schools they always have attended and, they will still be in the majority in the predominantly white schools.

The data for this study came from a proportional sample of high school sophomores in the state of South Carolina.[2] The first contact was made in the 1966-67 school year and the students were recontacted in the 1968-69 school year. Only the 1966-67 data have been used for the present paper. Since data is available from a state-wide sample of high school sophomores, the opportunity is available to compare the plans of white students in all-white and predominantly white schools and the plans of black students in all-black and predominantly white schools. The black students attending predominantly white schools attended under the freedom of choice plan that was in effect for the 1966-67 school year. Integration ranged from a high of 22 percent to a low of 1 percent with the average for 22 predominantly white schools being 7 percent.

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[2] Use of this data was made possible through the cooperation of Virilyn A. Boyd, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Clemson University, who supervised the collection and processing of the questionnaires.

Findings

The findings that have been presented are a preliminary report on the hypotheses that were outlined in the first section of the paper. Briefly, to repeat, these hypotheses were (1) that black students attending predominantly white schools would have higher educational and occupational aspirations and expectations than black students attending all black schools, and (2) that there would be no difference in the educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of white students attending either an all white or a predominantly white school.

From inspection of Tables 1 and 2 which deal with the relation between school composition and educational aspirations and expectations the percentage distribution shows that black students attending predominantly white schools consistently have the highest educational aspirations and expectations. They are followed in descending order by whites attending predominantly white schools, black students attending all-black schools and white students attending all-white schools have the lowest educational aspirations and expectations.[3] The interesting point in Tables 1 and 2 is that the students attending all white schools have the lowest aspirations and expectations in regard to their educational goals.

Furthermore, comparing Table 1 with Table 2 the black students attending predominantly white schools appear to have experienced slightly less deflection in their educational goals than do any of the other 3 groups. The magnitude of the anticipatory deflection for black students in predominantly white schools is 10 percent, whereas, it is 14 percent for white students in predominantly white schools and 13 percent for the students attending all-black or all-white schools.

To summarize, the information presented in Tables 1 and 2 tend to weakly support the first hypothesis, but bring into question hypothesis two. Black students attending predominantly white schools tend to have both higher educational aspirations and expectations than do the black students attending all-black schools. In addition, the same relationship holds for white students attending all-white schools as compared to those attending predominantly white schools.

The reason that both white and black students who attend predominantly white schools have higher educational aspirations and expectations may be a function of school size and the nature of the community. The urban community is likely to have larger school systems. Black adolescents attending predominantly white schools under a freedom of choice plan are likely to be less visible in an urban school system than in a small rural community and its relatively small school system. There is likely to be less overt resistance where the changing social composition of the school has not been perceived as a threat to the existing social organization.

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[3] Note: In Tables 1 and 2 High refers to 4 year college or graduate school: Medium refers to Vocational or Junior college and Low refers to high school graduation or less.

Another factor likely involved which also stems from size is that larger school systems are likely to have greater overall resources which means that specialized positions can be created and filled by persons with the necessary training. Thus, the urban school system is likely to have personnel who can devote their attention to making the transition from a dual school system to a unitary one occur without conflict or disruption.

Another question which arises from our inspection of Tables 1 and 2 is whether the school itself has played the significant role in raising the educational aspirations and expectations of black students attending integrated schools or whether black students with existing high aspirations and expectations tend to more frequently attend predominantly white schools? This question has not been touched upon directly in the present paper but we are planning to look at this question in our continuing analysis of the South Carolina data. Our hunch is that the black student with relatively high aspirations and expectations will be more likely to initially attend the predominantly white school but that once he begins to attend his aspirations and expectations will tend to increase even further. This may be the case for the rather small differences since some of the black students have been in white schools only a few months.

The relationships between occupational aspirations and expectations and school composition are similar to the relationship between educational plans and school composition.[3] The direction of the relationships are the same with the exception being that white students attending predominantly white schools have a slightly higher proportion of their group aspiring to the high, i.e., the professional and managerial, occupational positions than do the black students attending predominantly white schools. With regard to occupational expectations, however, black students attending predominantly white schools have higher occupational positions. Thus, with the exception of the relationship between occupational aspirations and school composition the black students attending predominantly white schools tend to have the highest occupational expectations, followed by the white students attending predominantly white schools, next are the black students attending all-black schools and the students with the lowest occupational expectations are the white students attending all-white schools. The interesting point in Tables 3 and 4 is that while white students attending either an all-white or a predominantly white school have higher occupational aspirations than do the black students attending either an all-black or a predominantly white school, the relationship is reversed for occupational expectations and school composition. The white students appear to have a greater degree of anticipatory deflection than do the black students regardless of the composition of the school they attend.

Again as was found in the relationship between educational aspirations and expectations and school composition, black students attending predominantly white schools tend to have higher occupational aspirations and expectations than do black students attending all-black schools. The same relationship also holds when comparing white students attending predominantly white schools with white students attending all-white schools. The evidence in Tables 3 and 4 tend to support hypothesis one but again question hypothesis two which stated that there should be no difference between white students attending either an all-white or a predominantly white school. These relationships are thought to be explained by the same reasons advanced for educational aspirations and expectations and governed by the same limitations discussed earlier.

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[3] Note: High refers to professional and managerial occupations; Glamour refers to sports, actor or actress, airline stewardess, etc.; Medium refers to clerical and craftsmen; Low refers to operatives, service workers and laborers.

An attempt to elaborate upon the finding that white students attending all-white schools tend to have the lowest educational expectations is presented in Tables 5 to 8. The reasoning is that the white students attending all-white schools are predominantly students with a rural residence and that the adolescents residing in a rural area will tend to generally have lower educational expectations. The findings in Tables 5 and 8 indicate that a greater proportion of the students attending predominantly white schools are from an urban area and there is a greater proportion of them expecting a college education. However, in Tables 6 and 7 these are the students attending either an all-black or an all-white school, and from inspection of the marginals, the data shows that a greater proportion of students attending either all-white or all-black schools reside in rural areas of the state. Associated with rural residence for the students attending all-white and all-black schools is that a higher proportion of these students tend to expect to achieve only a high school education at the most. Thus one of the reasons for students attending all-white and all-black schools to have consistently lower educattional expectations is that these schools are primarily rural schools.

In comparing the percentage distributions for black students attending an all-black school (Tables 5 and 6) the finding is that a higher proportion of the rural students attending a predominantly white school expect at least a college education (High educational expectation category). This tends to support the contention that attending a school which is generally composed of students with higher family status backgrounds tends to increase the expectations of the minority student. Black students attending predominantly white schools are likely to be in a school composed of students from higher socioeconomic status backgrounds who tend to have higher educational aspirations and expectations and this is likely to result in black student increasing his educational expectations over those of his fellows who remain in the all-black school.

Conclusions

The following tentative conclusions are advanced:

(1) That black students attending predominantly white schools tend to have higher educational and occupational aspirations and expectations than do their fellows attending all-black schools.

(2) That white students attending predominantly white schools tend to also have higher educational and occupational aspirations and expectations than their fellows attending all-white schools.

(3) Generally, attending a predominantly white school is associated with higher levels of educational and occupational plans, whereas, attending either an all-black or an all-white school is associated with lower levels of educational and occupational plans.

(4) And, generally black students have higher aspirations and expectations than do white students with the exception being that for occupational aspirations white students aspire higher than do the black students.

(5) One reason for the finding that predominantly white schools have students with higher educational expectations is due to the fact that predominantly white schools have a higher proportion of their students from urban areas and adolescents in urban areas tend to have higher educational expectations.

(6) Even though black students attending predominantly white schools who are from a rural area tend to have higher educational expectations than do their fellows attending an all-black school.

(7) The major task remaining, however, is to determine the cause-effect relationship between school composition and aspirations and expectations. By examining this relationship over time, which is possible with the data at hand, the problem of comparing the effects of attending an integrated school for students who have spent varying times in an integrated school can be eliminated. The authors are continuing their work upon this question.

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TABLE 1

Educational Aspirations and School Composition, South Carolina, 1966-67

Educational Aspirations (Percent)	School Composition All Black	 All White	 Predominantly White, Schools White	 Black
High	53	48	59	63
Medium	33	37	30	28
Low	14	14	11	9
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(1555)	(160)	(3375)	(229)

TABLE 2

Educational Expectations and School Composition, South Carolina, 1966-67

Educational Expectations (Percents)	School Composition All Black	 All White	 Predominantly White Schools White	 Black
High	40	35	45	53
Medium	35	36	32	28
Low	25	29	23	19
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(1548)	(161)	(3384)	(229)

TABLE 3

Occupational Aspirations and School Composition
South Carolina, 1966-67

	School Composition			
			Predominantly White Schools	
Occupational Aspirations (Percent)	All Black	All White	White	Black
High	49	51	57	54
Glamour	11	11	13	17
Medium	26	26	21	21
Low	14	12	9	8
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(1497)	(152)	(3339)	(224)

TABLE 4

Occupational Expectations and School Composition
South Carolina, 1966-67

	School Composition			
			Predominantly White Schools	
Occupational Expectations (Percent)	All Black	All White	White	Black
High	39	35	42	45
Glamour	8	4	7	13
Medium	26	28	26	19
Low	27	32	25	23
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(1359)	(144)	(3150)	(218)

TABLE 5

Educational Expectations by Residence for Black Students Attending Predominately White Schools, (N=228), South Carolina, 1966-67

Educational Expectations	Urban (over 2500)	Town (under 2500)	Rural
High	60%	54%	42%
Medium	24	27	38
Low	16	19	20
Total	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(101)	(41)	(86)

TABLE 6

Educational Expectations by Residence for Black Students Attending All-Black Schools (N=1541), South Carolina, 1966-67

Educational Expectations	Urban (over 2500)	Town (under 2500)	Rural
High	47%	35%	36%
Medium	31	43	36
Low	22	22	28
Total	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(553)	(161)	(827)

TABLE 7

Educational Expectations by Residence for White Students Attending all-white Schools (N=161), South Carolina, 1966-67

Educational Expectations	Urban (over 2500)	Town (under 2500)	Rural
High	45%	40%	39%
Medium	33	39	34
Low	17	21	27
Total	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(53)	(28)	(80)

TABLE 8

Educational Expectations by Residence for White Students Attending Predominantly White Schools (N=3385) South Carolina, 1966-67

Educational Expectations	Urban (over 2500)	Town (under 2500)	Rural
High	54%	37%	32%
Medium	29	36	36
Low	17	27	32
Total	100%	100%	100%
(N)	(1925)	(425)	(1035)

PERCEIVED SOURCES OF PERSONAL AID AND INFLUENCE FOR THE OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF BLACK HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS: A RURAL-URBAN COMPARISON*

By

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Introduction

The last two decades have witnessed the accumulation of an extensive amount of empirical research on the occupational status orientations of youth by social scientists throughout the world.[1] A primary focal point of many of these research ventures has been the delineation of relevant variables that affect variations in levels of occupational aspirations and expectations of high school youth. Research findings indicate that occupational status orientations are significantly affected by such independent variables as socio-economic status, race, income, intelligence and residence. However, relatively little empirical research has been conducted on the influence of personal contacts on the occupational status orientations of adolescents. Because of the apparent absence of research specifically designed to ascertain the relative effects various "primary-contacts" have on occupational decisions made by rural and urban black youth, this paper will attempt to provide information in this general area. Specifically, we will focus on the aid and influence exerted by five "primary-contacts" on the occupational aspirations of rural and urban black high school males and females.

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Conceptual Frame of Reference and Review of Relevant Literature

The conceptual framework utilized in this study was first suggested by Paul Lazarsfeld in 1931 when he noted that a constructive approach to the phenomenon of "occupational choice" would entail research designed to find out "how" occupations are filled rather than "why" they are filled.[2] This perspective was employed by Ginzberg and his associates and subsequently lead to the formulation of the "developmental model" of occupational choice.[3] Basically, this model views occupational choice as a process, developing over time, which can be categorized into three distinct stages--"fantasy," "tentative," and "realistic." During the final stage of choice development, the realistic, the youth of seventeen or eighteen years of age experiences a crystalization, specification, definition and commitment to an occupational goal.

Throughout the occupational selection process, different dimensions of choice are distingishable. Kuvlesky and Bealer have recently pointed out that it is important for researchers to analytically differentiate between the occupational aspirations and occupational expectations of youth.[4] Occupational aspirations refer to that occupation which an individual "wishes or desires to enter as his life's work."[5] On the other hand, occupational expectations refer to the job that an individual "expects or anticipates entering as his life's work."[6] An occupational aspiration is desired by the individual, while an occupational expectation may or may not be desired by the individual.

Numerous factors interact to engender the development of particular occupational desires and plans. It has been thoroughly demonstrated that occupational decisions made by youth are contingent upon a dynamic, interacting array of biological, psychological, cultural and structural factors. Furthermore, as more theoretically oriented researchers in this area have noted, the factors of differential socialization and direct interpersonal contacts aid and exert considerable influence on occupational decisions.

Rodgers and Musgrave have both noted the importance of primary and secondary socialization in orienting youth toward acceptable occupational goals and roles.[7] Direct face to face "primary-contacts" are one means, in the socialization process, of affecting the orientations of youth.[8] These "primary-contacts" can be seen as serving as "economic role-models" for youth, or as sources of encouragement on a direct interactional level for the acceptance of particular occupational roles.

Cohen has noted that mobility aspirations of youth are induced by "a long-term socialization process involving alternative patterns of motivational sources, general attitudes and timing and techniques of encouragement by the parent."[9] Kahl,[10] McKinley,[11] Gist and Bennett,[12] and Dyer[13] have all found that occupational decisions made by youth are strongly influenced by contacts with parents. Studies by Alexander and Cambell[14] and Krauss[15] have found that educational aspirations and plans are affected by communication among high school students and the nature of one's peer group associations. Furthermore, Haller and Butterworth, in an empirical investigation in 1960, found some support for the contention that interaction with peers influence levels of occupational aspirations of youth.[16]

In a recent study on the perceived influence of various groups on the educational and occupational plans of rural Iowa youth, Hartman found that college-oriented youth perceived more overall influence on their educational plans than did non-college oriented youth.[17] Furthermore, the findings of this study suggest that rural youth perceive more influence for the formation of educational plans than occupational plans. Parents were found to exert the most influence on the occupational plans of the respondents, while guidance counselors were acknowledged as influentual by significantly more college oriented rural youth than non-college oriented rural youth.

These studies lend empirical support to theorists in the area of occupational choice who have noted that family and peer group influences affect the occupation decisions of youth. However, it should also be pointed out that some authors contend that disadvantaged youth, particularly lower-class blacks, suffer from inadequate primary and secondary socialization in childhood. For example, Deutsch posits that lower class children lack opportunities "to use the adult as a source of information, correction and reality testing involved in problem-solving and the absorption of new knowledge." [18] Inferences of this nature demonstrate that additional empirical information is needed on the relative influence "primary-contacts" have on occupational choices made by black youth.

This brief review of previous research indicates that relatively little information exists on the influence or "helpfulness" of various "primary-contacts" for the formation of occupational goals of rural and urban black youth. It should be noted from the conceptual framework presented above that the high school youth is viewed as an active decision-maker, whose occupational orientations are beginning to crystalize into specific choices. These orientations can be analytically differentiated into desired occupational goals and expected occupational attainments. Furthermore, these occupational orientations are affected by primary and secondary socialization, both of which often occur through direct interpersonal contacts. Thus, the primary objective of this paper is an evaluation of the relative influence of five primary-contacts--parents, friends, relatives, teachers and guidance counselors--on the occupational aspirations of black youth. Particular emphasis is placed on variations found according to sex and residence.

Methodology

The data for this study were obtained from group-administered questionaires presented to 264 male and female black high-school seniors. The rural sample consisted of 157 students attending small, all-black high schools located in four non-metropolitan parishes in the state of

Louisiana. All seniors attending classes the day interviews were administered were included in the rural sample and no attempt was made by the researchers to contact absentees at a later date. By sex, there were 67 males and 90 females. All of the rural data were collected in the spring of 1968.

The urban sample was drawn from two large all-black high schools located in the immediate Baton Rouge metropolitan area. A twenty per cent random sample of senior home rooms from both of these schools was selected. A table of random numbers was utilized in the selection of homerooms. A total of 107 respondents were included in the urban sample which was drawn in January, 1969. Group-administered questionaires, similiar to those previously given to the rural youth, were presented to all seniors present in the selected homerooms the day interviews were conducted. By sex there were 42 males and 65 females in the urban sample.

The data for analysis were obtained from a question on the research instrument which asked the students to indicate "how helpful" each of the following people were in aiding the formation of their occupational goals:

1. Parents
2. Relatives other than parents
3. Friends
4. Teachers
5. High school counselor

Each of the people listed above was rated by the respondents as being "very helpful," of "some help," or of "no help" in their formation of occupational goals.[19]

A factorial design for the two independent variables, sex and residence, was utilized to classify all respondents. These two independent variables were dichotomized as follows: sex, male and female; residence, rural and urban. All responses were then ranked in terms of degree of helpfulness. The response "very helpful" was given the highest rank and the remaining responses were ordered accordingly. This procedure allowed for an ordinal measurement of the dependent variable "helpfulness" between the following four categorized groups- urban males, urban females, rural males and rural females. The Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance was utilized to determine the existence of any significant variations between the groups of categorized respondents.[20] If an over-all significant difference was found to exist between groups, the Mann-Whitney U-test was employed to isolate significant main and interaction effects.[21]

Background Characteristics of the Respondents

The majority of the rural and urban black youths interviewed came from families of low socio-economic status. It was found that approximately 7 out of every 10 major money earners in the respondents families were either unemployed or held low-status occupations[22] (Table 1). The families of the respondents were also characterized by relatively high rates of instability. Table 2 indicates that 46 per cent of the urban respondents and 39 per cent of the rural respondents were members of broken families. Furthermore, there was a high incidence of working mothers in the families of the youth included in this study. Sixty-five per cent of the mothers in the rural sample and 55 per cent of the respondents' mothers in the rural sample were employed on either a full or part time basis (Table 3).

From the above findings it is apparent that the vast majority of the students included in this study come from relatively underprivileged homes. Moreover, the high incidence of incomplete family systems and working mothers points to the possible existence of unstable family backgrounds. In addition, it should be noted that both rural and urban respondents reflect similiar disadvantaged background characteristics, indicating that neither sample is characterized by any marked social advantages.

FINDINGS

Helpfulness of Parents

Overall, parents were found to be important sources of influence for the formation of the occupational goals of the respondents. Substantial proportions of all subsamples were found to acknowledge parents as being "very helpful." Approximately 41 per cent of the urban males, 51 per cent of the urban females, 58 per cent of the rural males and 55 per cent of the rural females responded in this manner (Table 4). Proportionately more urban males (20 per cent) than others indicated that they received "no help" from parents for the formation of their occupational goals. However, the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance shows that no statistically significant differences existed between sex and residence groupings of the respondents. This finding suggests that parental expectations and encouragement are important factors in the crystalization of occupational goals of disadvantaged rural and urban black youth of both sexes.

Helpfulness of Relatives Other Than Parents

As would be expected, relatives were found not to be as helpful as parents in the formation of the occupational goals of the respondents. Approximately 2 out of 10 of all the respondents indicated that relatives were "very helpful." (Table 5). However it should be noted that more than one-half (57 per cent) of all respondents reported that relatives were at least of "some help" for the formation of occupational goals. Likewise, a substantial proportion of the respondents (43 per cent) felt that relatives provided little or no help for their occupational desires. The analysis of the data did not reveal any significant differences by sex or residence subgroups.

Helpfulness of Friends

In tables 6 and 7, it was found that friends were more helpful in the formation of the occupational goals of rural males than rural females. Slightly less than one-half of all rural males (43 per cent) indicated that friends were very helpful for their occupational goal formation, whereas only 9 per cent of the rural females responded affirmativly. Futhermore, it should be noted that approximately 80 per cent of the rural males thought that friends provided at least "some help" for the formation of their occupational desires, while only 56 per cent of the rural females indicated likewise.

For the urban respondents no comparable sex differences were observed. As table 6 shows, only 17 per cent of the urban males considered friends as being "very helpful" in influencing occupational goal-formation. The same percentage of urban females gave this response. In addition, no overall residence differences in regards to helpfulness of friends was observed.

These findings indicate that friends were a more significant source of aid and influence for the formation of the occupational goals of rural males than any of the other respondents included in this study. This suggests that the occupational decisions made by the rural males included in this study were influenced by peer group considerations to a greater degree than the occupational decisions of the other respondents.

Helpfulness of Teachers

Teachers were found to have exerted significantly more help in the formation of the occupational goals of rural than urban youth (Tables 8 and 9). Slightly more than half of all the urban respondents (51 per cent), in comparison to 27 per cent of the rural respondents, acknowledged teachers as being "very helpful" for their occupational aspirations.

In addition, tables 8 and 9 reveal that teachers were more influential for the development of the occupational goals of males than females. This finding was observed to be true for respondents in both residence groupings.

The above findings indicate that teachers were precieved by the respondents as being relatively important sources of aid for the occupational goal formation of all respondents. However the analysis of the data indicates that teachers in rural schools played a more important role in the occupational decisions of black youth than did the teachers in urban schools. Furthermore, the findings indicate that teachers exerted a stronger influence on the occupational intentions of males than females.

Helpfulness of High School Guidance Counselor

High school guidance counselors were found to be more helpful in forming the occupational goals of rural youth than those of urban youth (Tables 10 and 11). Significantly greater proportions of the rural respondents (e.g. 43 per cent of the males and 45 per cent of the females) indicated that guidance counselors were "very helpful" sources of influence for occupational aspirations. For all respondents, approximately 6 out of 10 students (59 per cent) thought counselors were at least "some help" for occupational intentions. No differences in amount of help received from guidance counselors were observed by sex within each residence category.

These findings indicate that guidance counselors were more important sources of aid for the formation of occupational goals. However, some caution must be taken in interpreting this finding in the above manner since many rural schools do not include full-time, trained guidance counselors on their teaching staff.

Discussion

The major objective of this study was an analysis of the amount of help exerted by five "primary-contacts" on the formation of occupational goals (aspirations) of lower class rural and urban black youth. Our findings indicate that parents, relatives, friends, teachers and guidance counselors were acknowledged as having been at least of "some help" for occupational decisions made by the majority of all the students. However, some primary-contacts were found to be more influential or helpful than others, and significant differences were observed by residence and sex breakdowns concerning the relative influence of specific personal contacts on the formation of occupational goals.

Generally, parents were found to be the most helpful primary-contacts for rural and urban and male and female respondents. It should be noted that in every residence and sex category parents were acknowledged by the greatest proportion of students as being "very helpful" for occupational goal formation (Table 12). This finding is in agreement with the relatively small number of empirical studies conducted in this area, and tend to support statements of social scientists who have emphasized the importance of parental influence on occupational decisions.

Teachers were found to have been more helpful for the formation of the occupational goals of the respondents than any of the other "primary-contacts" except parents (Table 12). It was also found that significantly greater proportions of the rural than the urban respondents thought teachers were helpful for the formation of their occupational goals. This finding may reflect the existance of a more intimate relationship between students and teachers in small rural schools. Increased contacts and the occurence of more "informal" relations between students and teachers may possibly explain this finding.

No sex and residence variations in the amount of help provided by relatives were observed. In comparison to other sources of influence, relatives were found to exert little influence on the formation of the occupational goals of the respondents (Table 13).

Friends were not considered very important sources of aid and influence for occupational goal-formation of all respondents except rural males. Rural males were found to acknowledge "friends" as being "very helpful" in significantly greater proportions than other respondents.

Guidance counselors were found to be more influential for the occupational intentions of rural respondents than urban respondents. Since the existence of full-time, trained guidance counselors in rural schools is minimal, this finding probably reflects the greater influence of teachers in rural schools. As we have noted above, teachers were perceived as having been more important sources of aid for the formation of the occupational goals of rural youth than urban youth. Since many rural teachers additionally function in the capacity of guidance counselor, the greater influence of guidance counselors in rural areas can be taken as reflecting our findings for teachers. However, it should be noted that guidance counselors were found to be of "no help" for the formation of occupational goals by substantial proportions of students in all subsamples (Table 13).

In summary, our findings indicate that the influence of selected "primary-contacts" on the formation of occupational goals of lower class black youth varies in certain instances by sex and residence breakdowns. These variations in amount of help received by black youth for occupational goal formation point to areas for further research. Furthermore, before a general theory of occupational choice can be validly formed, adequate explanations for the differential influence of personal-contacts on the formation of occupational goals of youth must be provided.

TABLE 1. OCCUPATIONS OF MAJOR MONEY EARNERS IN FAMILIES OF THE RESPONDENTS BY RESIDENCE

Occupation Level	Rural (N=105) Per cent	Urban (N=100) Per cent	Total (N=205) Per cent
Upper	7	7	6
Middle	19	28	23
Lower	74	65	71
Total	100	100	100

$P\ (z=1.687) > .05$; Mann-Whitney U-test

TABLE 2. MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENT'S PARENTS BY RESIDENCE

	Rural (N=152) Per cent	Urban (N=107) Per cent	Total (N=259) Per cent
Both Parents Alive, Living Together	61	54	58
Separated, Divorced or Widowed	39	46	42
Total	100	100	100

$.3 > P\ (x^2=1.260) > .2$

TABLE 3. EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF RESPONDENTS' MOTHERS BY RESIDENCE

	Rural (N=149) Per cent	Urban (N=106) Per cent	Total (N=255) Per cent
Employed Full-Time	33	47	39
Employed Part-Time	22	17	20
Not Employed	45	36	41
Total	100	100	100

$.1 > P\ (x^2 = 5.33) > .05$

TABLE 6. HELPFULNESS OF PARENTS FOR OCCUPATIONAL GOAL FORMATION

	Urban		Rural		Total
	Males (N=[illegible]) %	Females (N=[illegible]) %	Males (N=[illegible]) %	Females (N=[illegible]) %	(N=[illegible]) %
Very Helpful	50	56	58	55	53
Some Help	20	26	31	27	29
Little Help	10	9	6	11	9
No Help	20	9	5	7	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Kruskal-Wallis; P(H=7.82) > .05

TABLE 5. HELPFULNESS OF RELATIVES OTHER THAN PARENTS FOR OCCUPATIONAL GOAL FORMATION

	Urban		Rural		Total
	Male (N=41) %	Female (N=65) %	Male (N=59) %	Female (N=90) %	(N=255) %
Very Helpful	29	25	22	12	20
Some Help	24	23	44	49	37
Little Help	24	29	24	19	24
No Help	23	23	10	20	19
Total	$\overline{100}$	$\overline{100}$	$\overline{100}$	$\overline{100}$	$\overline{100}$

Kruskal-Wallis; $P(H=3.552) > .05$

TABLE 6. HELPFULNESS OF FRIENDS FOR OCCUPATIONAL GOAL FORMATION

	Urban		Rural		Total
	Males (N=42) %	Females (N=65) %	Males (N=56) %	Females (N=89) %	(N=252) %
Very Helpful	17	17	43	9	20
Some Help	36	35	36	47	40
Little Help	29	28	7	23	21
No Help	18	20	14	21	19
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Kruskal-Wallis; P(H=16.684)$<$.001

TABLE 7. ANALYSIS OF MAIN AND INTERACTION EFFECTS IN TABLE 6*

Source of Variation	Statistic	Significance Level
By Residence	z=-1.585	P $>$.05
By Sex	Z=2.956	P $<$.01
Interaction: Residence by Sex	Z=2.252	P $<$.02

*Mann-Whitney U-Test

TABLE 8. HELPFULNESS OF TEACHERS FOR OCCUPATIONAL GOAL FORMATION

	Urban		Rural		Total
	Males (N=41) %	Females (N=65) %	Males (N=64) %	Females (N=90) %	(N=260) %
Very Helpful	32	25	55	48	41
Some Help	44	32	28	23	30
Little Help	15	25	12	20	19
No Help	9	18	5	9	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Kruskal Wallis; $P(H=11.214) < .001$

TABLE 9. ANALYSIS OF MAIN AND INTERACTION EFFECTS IN TABLE 8*

Source of Variation	Statistic	Significance Level
By Residence	$Z=-3.599$	$P < .001$
By Sex	$Z=2.088$	$P < .02$
Interaction: Residence by Sex	$Z=-.6378$	$P > .26$

*Mann-Whitney - U-Test

TABLE 10. HELPFULNESS OF HIGH SCHOOL COUNSELORS FOR OCCUPATIONAL GOAL FORMATION

	Urban		Rural		Total
	Males (N=42) %	Females (N=65) %	Males (N=56) %	Females (N=82) %	(N=245) %
Very Helpful	24	19	43	45	34
Some Help	24	23	36	20	25
Little Help	26	25	7	7	15
No Help	26	33	14	28	26
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Kruskal Wallis; $P(H=16.417) < .001$

TABLE 11. ANALYSIS OF MAIN AND INTERACTION EFFECTS IN TABLE 10.*

Source of Variation	Statistic	Significance Level
By Residence	$Z=-3.8933$	$P < .001$
By Sex	$Z=1.3264$	$P > .09$
Interaction Residence by Sex	$Z=-.5326$	$P > .29$

*Mann Whitney - U-Test

TABLE 12. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS PERCEIVING PRIMARY-CONTACTS AS BEING "VERY HELPFUL" FOR THE FORMATION OF OCCUPATIONAL GOALS

Primary Contact	Urban		Rural	
	Males %	Females %	Males %	Females %
Parents	41	51	58	55
Teachers	32	25	55	48
Relatives	29	25	22	12
Guidance Counselors	24	19	43	45
Friends	17	17	43	9

TABLE 13. PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS PERCEIVING "NO HELP" FROM PRIMARY-CONTACTS FOR THE FORMATION OF OCCUPATIONAL GOALS.

Primary Contact	Urban		Rural	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
Guidance Counselor	26	34	14	28
Friends	19	20	14	21
Relatives	22	23	10	20
Teachers	10	19	5	9
Parents	21	9	5	7

FOOTNOTES

[1] For detailed listings and an overall statement of research findings on occupational status orientations of adolescents see: William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, *Occupational Aspirations and Expectations: A Bibliography of Research Literature* (Texas Agricultural Experiment Station Departmental Report No. 67-10, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Texas A&M University, College Station, 1967) and William P. Kuvlesky, "A Synthetic Overview of Research on Rural Youth's Projections for Occupational and Educational Attainment: A Progress Report," Paper presented to the Rural Sociological Society's Research Committee [illegible] Education and Occupational Behavior at the 1969 Annual Meetings of the Society in San Francisco, California, August, 1969. For recent research findings in this area in the Soviet Union see: M.N. Rutkevich (ed.) *The Career Plans of Youth* (Translated and edited by Murray Yanowitch, White Plains, New York: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1969).

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[3] Eli Ginzberg, *et al.*, *Occupational Choice: An Approach to a General Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951). For a more comprehensive psychologically oriented approach at a general theory in this area, see Donald E. Super, "A Theory of Vocational Development," *The American Psychologist*, 8 (May, 1953), pp. 185-190.

[4] William P. Kuvelsky and Robert C. Bealer, "A Clarification of the Concept 'Occupational Choice'," *Rural Sociology*, 31 (September, 1966), pp. 265-276.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 269.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[7] Rodgers has delineated between familial and non-familial influences on occupational role formation, while Musgrave has placed particular emphasis on the "economic socialization" of the child through "primary", "secondary" and "tertiary" sources. See: Roy H. Rodgers, "The Occupational Role of the Child: A Research Frontier in the Developmental Conceptual Framework," *Social Forces*, XLV (December, 1966) pp. 217-224 and P.W. Musgrave, "Towards a Sociological Theory of Occupational Choice," Sociological Review, 15 (March, 1967), pp. 33-46.

[8] Blau and Slocum have noted that various individuals often aid, and exert considerable influence on the occupational future of adolescents. See: Peter Blau, *et al.*, "Occupational Choice: A Conceptual Framework," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 9 (July, 1956), p. 532 and Walter L. Slocum, "Some Sociological Aspects of Occupational Choice," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology,* 18 (January, 1959), pp. 145-146.

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[10] Joseph Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Common Man's Boys," *Harvard Educational Review*, 23 (Summer, 1953), pp. 186-203.

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[12] Noel P. Gist and William S. Bennett, Jr. "Aspirations of Negro and White Students," *Social Forces*, 42 (October, 1963), pp. 40-48.

[13] William Dyer, "Parental Influence on the Job Attitude of Children from Two Occupational Strata" *Sociology and Social Research*, 42 (January-February, 1957), pp. 203-206.

[14] C. Norman Alexander, Jr. and Ernest Q. Cambell "Peer Influence on Adolescent Educational Aspirations and Attainment," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (December, 1957), pp. 704-712.

[15] Irving Krauss, "Sources of Educational Aspirations Among Working-Class Youth," *American Sociological Review*, 29 (December, 1964), pp. 867-879.

[16] Archibald O. Haller and C.E. Butterworth, "Peer Influences on Levels of Occupational and Educational Aspiration," *Social Forces*, 38 (May, 1960), pp. 289-295.

[17] John J. Hartman, "Perceived Influence of Selected Groups on Educational and Occupational Plans of Non-Metropolitan Youth," Paper presented at the annual Rural Sociological Meetings, San Francisco, California, August, 1969.

[18] Martin Deutsch, "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process," in A. Harry Passow, (ed.) *Education in Depressed Areas* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), p. 173. Also see H. Wortis, *et al.*, "Child Rearing Practices in a Low Socio-Economic Group," *Pediatrics*, 32 (August, 1963), pp. 298-307.

[19] If a person were considered as being "very helpful" or "some help" in the formation of the occupational aspirations of the respondent, it was assumed that this individual had exerted some influence or encouragement for the development of the youth's occupational goal.

[20] Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956), pp. 184-193.

[21] Ibid., pp. 116-127.

[22] In Table 1 "Professional" occupations were classified as "high-level" occupations. "Middle-level" occupations included owners, managers and officials, clerical and sales jobs and skilled workers. "Lower-level" occupations consisted of operatives, unskilled laborers and persons unemployed.

WHITE AND BLACK LEADERS' PERCEPTIONS OF LEADERSHIP IN A SOUTHERN VILLAGE CONFRONTED WITH URBANISM*

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Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to compare Whites' and Blacks' perceptions of community and black leadership in a village-centered rural community (in which blacks are definitely in the minority) under conditions of rising urbanism.

Background

The research reported here is one phase of on-going research on community leadership in Watkinsville, Georgia. Earlier phases of the work had involved the identification of community leaders of certain sorts. Using the "snowball" technique we had developed a list including 60 persons. This had been accomplished by beginning arbitrarily with the county school superintendent, a very popular and highly respected elected functionary. We asked him to name the six people living and/or working around Watkinsville whom he considered to comprise top leadership. Next, we interviewed each of the six persons mentioned by our first respondent and, then, each new person mentioned by each of these, and so on until the circle was closed. We considered the process finished when all persons mentioned by anyone had been interviewed.

The 60-person list so derived contained only whites, despite the fact that several black families lived within the village itself and many more lived within its "hinterland". Some blacks who lived elsewhere worked in the area. Further, the county's only Negro school was on the outskirts of the village proper. One Negro church was within the village limits, and others existed in the area. Black organizations and clubs abounded.

In light of these conditions the fact that no blacks had been named as "community leaders" made it obvious that we would do well to learn more about the situation, especially as we were concerned with the problem of projecting the social changes and development processes in villages of this sort in the south.

The Setting

The community under study is Watkinsville, Georgia, a small town-centered community which has served as the subject for continuing community leadership research for several years. The first report to come out of the work dealt with certain relationships of leadership and emerging projected changes, and was read at the 1961 Association of Southern Agricultural Workers annual meeting, Jackson, Mississippi, and was published in SOCIAL FORCES, March 1963. The second was a comparison of specialized and generalized leaders and leadership, presented at the 1965 ASAW meeting, Dallas. The third compared current and predicted leaders, and was read at the 1965 annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society in Chicago. The fourth paper examined local leaders' perceptions of the effects of rapidly changing leadership, and was presented at the 1969 Rural Sociological Society meetings in San Francisco.

The village of Watkinsville is an old county seat and agricultural town. The unit considered here includes the incorporated village and its immediate hinterland, the total population being estimated as about 2,000 persons. It is seventy miles from Atlanta and eight miles from Athens, the latter being a rapidly growing and industrializing city of some 50,000 people, and the home of The University of Georgia. Watkinsville will be referred to herein variously as a village and community. Actually, the unit of our study is not a village in any sociological sense, since it includes "hinterland" area residents, but is for this reason not a legal entity either. The hinterland was mapped in previous studies, and includes those persons who identify with the village proper and are related to its functions in some major respects such as trade, public schools, and courthouse activities. The total area is some six miles north to south and eight miles east and west, and at its nearest point is only two miles from Athens. Also, when speaking of this unit as a "community" we do so mainly as a matter of convenience without worrying about the technical implications of the usage.

Identification of Black Leadership

In late 1966 we returned to the village and re-interviewed a sample of our original respondents on matters bearing upon the black leadership situation in the community. Specifically, we asked each of eight original respondents some questions about leadership in the Negro community. The chief question was "What Negroes now living or working in Oconee county comprise the 'Top Leadership' of the Negro community?"

Eleven different blacks were mentioned. There was noticable agreement on only two of them, the black school principal and a farmer-carpenter-school bus driver, each of whom received five mentions. Only one other person was mentioned more than once: two mentions were made of a farmer-bootlegger.

The respondents found the question difficult to answer. In the first place, they had not thought of blacks as community leaders and, secondly, in this phase of the investigation they apparently had trouble perceiving whatever it was that blacks were doing among their own as being "leadership." Also, they had difficulty describing the individual blacks for us: they frequently could give only partial or nick names, and they usually did not know where they lived. There was considerable reluctance on the part of both whites and blacks to talk about this matter. The interviewer, an experienced researcher, spent a total of 113 hours on these 13 interviews.

The next step in our procedure was to interview those Negroes who were designated by white interviewees. Five blacks so designated were located and interviewed with a prepared schedule which included most of the questions to which the whites had responded in the steps described above. Primarily we wanted the blacks to designate those persons whom they (the blacks) perceived to be (1) community leaders (without restriction as to race) and (2) black leaders.

Taken altogether, then, these steps yielded four sets of names:

Figure 1

A. Persons named by community leaders as community leaders	B. Persons named by community leaders as black leaders
C. Persons named by black leaders as community leaders	D. Persons named by black leaders as black leaders

All of the informants (namers) in cell A, Figure 1 (community leaders) were white, and they named only whites as community leaders. Those named represented nearly the full range of occupations and the professions, and were widely scattered within the socio-economic system. Most, but certainly not all, were more affluent than the average black in the community. However, not even the more prosperous, stable, and active Negroes were seen by the whites as "leaders." Both men and women were named, as were both new and longtime residents of the community.

The "namers" of Negro leaders were the eight community leaders (white) interviewed while we were specifically concentrating upon the matter of black leadership. (Cell B, Figure 1). They named eleven different persons--nine men and two women. Note the characteristics of these persons in Table 1.

Five of the black leaders named in Cell B were contacted and interviewed. They were asked to name community leaders, and the list (category C) resembled rather closely the list named by whites (category A). Blacks did not name blacks as community leaders--of 27 mentions of community leaders by blacks, only two were black.

Table 1. -- Blacks Named as leaders, by Eight Whites and Five Blacks, Watkinsville, Georgia, 1966.

Blacks Named as Leaders	Number of Mentions by Whites	by Blacks	Occupation	Basis of Leadership (According to Respondents)
1 - L.M.S.	5	5	School Princ	Leadership in school; attitudes toward colored and white; only decent Negro in county who has any influence on other Negroes; his education; from local Negro community. Nice christian man; carries influence; 100% leadership; position and contacts; influence in both communities; tends to his business; officer in church. School principal.
2 - Burnell B.	5	4	Farmer, Carpenter, School bus driver	Family connections; good church worker; member of school board; church activities; most outstanding Negro in community. Talks alot; deacon in church; churchman; interest; is one who gets things done.
3 - "B" E.	2	0	Farmer Bootlegger	His contacts; Negroes listen to him; family is prosperous.
4 - Fats J.	1	0	Cafe Operator	Young Negroes talk about him.
5 - Rev. S.	1	0	Preacher	Good minister among Negroes; religious influence.
6 - Hillard F.	1	1	Farmer	Family connections (at large business organization.
7 - Charlie B.	1	2	Retired School Teacher	His education. Educated man; shows interest in what happens.
8 - Clarabelle H.	1	0	Domestic	Church activities.

(Continued)

4

Table 1 - Continued

9 - -- J.	1	0	Retired farmer	Contacts with colored people; white people like him, too.
10 - Lizie B.J.	1	0	Cafe owner	Gets along well with both races.
11 - Leroy M.	1	1	School bus driver and works for town	Big church worker; other Negroes respect him.
12 - Babba C.	0	3	Farmer	Good Fellow; church officer; christian; hard worker; father was a preacher; pays his debts.
13 - Jack D.	0	2	Works for large business firm	He will help you do something; gets the information, talks it over.
14 - Clifford C.	0	1	Farmer	Good fellow; church officer.
15 - Ed C.	0	1	Farmer	Talks "a right smart."
16 - Lamar P.	0	1	School bus driver	Help you do something.
17 - Mrs. G.	0	1	Retired Teacher	Experience.
18 - Hosie D.	0	1	Janitor at Univ. of Georgia	Shows interest in what happens.
19 - Sammy S.	0	1	Works for large business firm	Active in church, P.T.A.
20 - Bernard J.	0	1	Carpenter	Owns property; deacon; well-known citizen.
21 - Charlie J.	0	1	Retired farmer	Well known; owns property; gets along well.
22 - Gene J.	0	1	Works for large business firm	Good neighbor; christian.

This would indicate that the blacks were aware of the community situation, that is, that blacks were actually not leaders. On the other hand, blacks may have been simply concurring with whites' perceptions of the situation.

In the naming of black leaders, the Negroes and whites did not agree. Only five persons were named by both. Two of these five were, however, named most often by each group---that is, were recognized most often by both as leaders. One was named five times by each, the other five times by whites and four times by blacks. Six other persons were named by whites but not by blacks; blacks named eleven persons not named by whites.

On the whole, the blacks' education level was low. Only three--the school principal and two retired teachers--had attended college. These three, plus a minister, were the only ones in the professions. A few could be called prosperous, but not affluent. (The most prosperous were some of the farmers and the principal). All were local persons; that is, no blacks had moved in with industry or as commuters.

These relatively low levels of education and income are, of course, the result of long-term discrimination. However, the levels are partially, at least, the cause of the blacks' absence from leadership positions. Even if the community were suddenly to become concerned and would seek local Negroes to assume leadership it would be difficult to find persons prepared to do so.

However, the other side of the story is that within existing community organization there is essentially no opportunity for blacks to exercise the leadership skills they already have for the benefit of the community at large, or to develop such leadership skills. Nor does the community have methods with which to discover leadership among Negroes.

It may be that under these conditions those who would lead but who have their urges frustrated have three alternatives: (a) to withdraw by migrating out of the community, (b) to restrict their activity to black groups, or (c)challenge the established system. Most southern rural blacks have probably elected to withdraw by migrating and, to a lesser extent, by working within black groups, while only rarely choosing to challenge white leadership. This is certainly true of Watkinsville. However, with increasing crowding in cities and with the continued growth of urban social problems we may see it become increasingly difficult for able young blacks to find appropriate migration opportunities. They would therefore face the necessity of creating more nearly satisfactory conditions for themselves in their home communities, thereby increasing the chances of challenges to local leadership. However, with increasing integration in schools and more frequent white-black contact and interaction in other than school situations, the process may not necessarily involve conflict.

We see in our findings that whites recognized certain individuals as influentials--that is, as having the ability to influence the behavior of other blacks, but not of whites. Some blacks and whites said that whites recognized this and used them to "control" the racial situation, and both whites and Negroes saw them as channels of communication between the two segments. We might expect these persons (and others like them) to broaden their base of power and influence to become members of the true black leadership structure to be recognized by and dealt with by whites.

With the advance of urbanism, a fourth alternative will present itself: to obtain satisfactory employment in nearby Athens and become commuters while continuing to live in Watkinsville. Those who take this route could be expected to break out of old accomodations, and work for greater power. Thus, urbanism would contribute greatly to changing race relations in village communities near larger industrializing centers.

It would appear that the rural social organization can keep blacks relatively hidden, especially if blacks (a) are in the minority, (b) if they are rural, and (c) if a large portion of them are landowners, as in Watkinsville. This situation allows them to be relatively independent while providing for themselves and families without having to interact directly with whites. But one implication, as we have seen here, is that whites don't know about black affairs. While blacks may desire to remain relatively invisible (because of the risks involved in open contact with whites) such a condition almost precludes the development on the part of whites any real understanding and appreciation of blacks as persons, their activities, or their way of life.

One more comment about out migration of Negroes from the village community. Where this is the dominant pattern the local Negro leadership is, of course, likely to be older. If for any reason that pattern should yield to either local employment with local residence or commuterism, the black leadership age would almost certainly drop. This, in turn, would just as certainly change the total community leadership pattern, since younger blacks would be more willing (and perhaps more able) to challenge prevailing patterns and to work for a share of broad community power.

In our findings we saw on the part of whites and blacks at least some recognition of blacks as leaders within their own groups, if not other races. This may be a normal stage in the emergence of Negroes as community leaders. In the first stage blacks would be seen as a somewhat homogeneous black, without obvious leadership. Next would be a stage in which some individuals would come to be perceived by whites as leaders of black affairs. Only after these stages could blacks emerge as perceived community leaders.

Some Implications

What might grow out of the present situation? As stated above, things could be expected to continue in essentially the present state only if current conditions prevail in the future. However, we see there the development of full school integration, rising urbanism and industrialization, and rising levels of education. Also, there are coming to be more of the Federal programs which require the participation of blacks.

It might be expected that few older black leaders would challenge vigorously the present situation, since the situation operates at least to support them in their present positions while presenting little threat of danger. However, if they were to confront entrenched leadership it would probably be through the ballot, because the whites have so little knowledge of blacks and their leadership activities as to indicate that they, the whites would not think of voluntarily recruiting blacks into community leadership. If, however, the challenge were to come from younger, better educated and higher income blacks, that challenge might involve more interpersonal conflict.

Our results clearly showed an absence of white planning to involve blacks in community affairs. With no policy, the community's institutions could suffer, because such lack would cause emerging black leadership to develop in opposition to, instead of in cooperation with, white leadership.

The answers to all these questions about the future of black leadership in this sort of community seem ultimately to hinge upon developing urbanism. The changes which take place in far-distant cities (and in American urban life itself) and in nearby Athens stand to have much stronger influence upon local development than all other factors combined. The net result is a degree of upward mobility for blacks--whether strictly local, commuter, returned migrant, or immigrant--which is moving him more soundly into the role of full community citizen. His and the community's adjustment may be smooth or turbulent, depending upon the capacity of people and groups to plan and adjust.

Summary of Findings

1. When asked to name community leaders, the leaders of this village-centered rural community thought only of whites.

2. When individuals in a sample of whites who had been designated as leaders were asked to name black leaders, they could not think of many, could not always give full names or accurate addresses of those named.

3. When a sample of those blacks whom the white leaders had named as leaders were asked to name community leaders, they agreed basically with whites.

4. The blacks agreed with whites that a few blacks were leaders, but the two groups' lists overlapped only minimally. Persons listed by both groups were above average occupationally, educationally, and economically.

5. Most blacks named were influential leaders, rather than positional leaders.

THE BLACK FARMER AND THE USDA

by

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During the summer of 1967 the Southern Rural Research Project of Selma, Alabama, with the assistance of the Division of Behavioral Science Research at Tuskegee Institute, conducted a survey of rural Negro families in seven Black Belt counties of Alabama.[1] The original research effort had two objectives. First, it sought to obtain descriptive data relating to the general question of poverty among rural Negroes. Secondly, it examined Black farmers' participation in and knowledge of several United States Department of Agriculture programs. This latter objective is the concern of this paper. It examines the quanity and quality of participation in key programs. It provides data concerning Negroes' knowledge of these programs and their treatment by the USDA employees administrating them. It attempts to present a picture of the degree of racial discrimination in agricultural programs and to provide an understanding of the consequences of discrimination.

The USDA as a Segregated Agency

Historically, the USDA has operated segregated programs for Black farmers. The oldest of the major agricultural programs, the Federal Extension Service, is centered around the Land Grant college, and since all colleges were racially segregated in the South this meant the placement of Black extension workers at the Black agricultural colleges.[2] As might be expected, the separate structure was not equal.[3] The white Land Grant colleges had extensive research facilities and a system of experimental substations. The Black colleges has few research facilities, lacked access to the substation system and received vitually no research funds. While the white extension services were staffed with dozens of specialists, the Black staffs typically had only a handful of generalists.[4] County staffs were also segregated and unequal; many counties with large Black populations lacked Black extension workers.

With the New Deal, several important agricultural programs were started. Among them were the Farmers Home Administration, The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, and the Soil Conservation Service. In 1965 the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights issued a report titled Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs which documented racial discrimination in the administration of these programs.[5]

The purpose of the FHA is to provide low cost credit to needy farm families in order to enable them to expand their farming operation and to improve their quality of life. The authors of the legislation establishing the program felt that it would enable tenent farmers in the South to become farm operators on a profitable basis.[6] The Civil Rights Commission's report found that the FHA had functioned in both a segregated and unequal fashion.[7] Black farmers not only received smaller loans than their white counterparts in the same economic class, but the loans were of a different type. While the white farmer typically received FHA funds for capital expansion, the Black farmer received his for current operating costs; thus, while the white farmer was increasing the quality and quanity of his farming operation, the Black farmer was standing still. The commission also found segregated staffs and a total lack of involvement of Negroes on policy committees.

The Civil Rights Commission also found that the SCS and ASCS were operated in a segregated fashion and that Black farmers received inferior service.[8] Few Blacks were employed as professionals and Black farmers were excluded from decision-making bodies.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was designed to put an end to racial discrimination and segregation in the U. S. Department of Agriculture. The various administrative units of the USDA were ordered to end discriminatory practices in their operations. However, this does not seem to have occurred. When the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights held hearings in Montgomery, Alabama in 1968 it could find little evidence of compliance.[9] It found continued discrimination in hiring, job assignment, and salaries.[10] The only noticable change was the termination of the practice of housing Black employees in separate offices. It also heard evidence that Black farm families were still receiving inferior service.

The Present Study

While the work of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has provided us with important evidence of gross racial discrimination by the USDA, it has failed to give us any real picture of the quanity and quality of service that Black farmers are receiving from the USDA. For this, survey data are needed. The present study offers these data. Black farmers were questioned about their participation in and knowledge of the ASCS, FHA, and FES.

The Sample

It was economically and temporally impossible to obtain a listing of Black farmers in the seven counties. Thus, a random sample was not possible. In order to assure against bias the interviewers attempted to locate and interview all farm operators in specified sections of the counties. Two hundred forty-three farmers were interviewed.

Findings

With regard to the ASCS, FHA, and FES the Negro farmers were asked about their involvement in the major programs, their knowledge of key elements of the programs and their contact with USDA personnel.

Vitually all the farmers were participants in the cotton subsidy program and thus had contact with the ASCS. However, an extremely large proportion of the respondents lacked knowledge about key ASCS rules and programs. (See Table 1).

Thirty-five percent of the respondents did not know that they could sell or rent a portion of their cotton allotment. Eighty-one percent did not know that they could get their projected yields changed; this is extremely important since subsidy checks are based on projected yields and Black farmers typically have been given smaller per acre projected yields than whites.[11] Thirty-four percent did not know that they could get a part of their subsidy prior to picking. Sixty-four percent did not know that they were entitled to technical assistance fromASCS as to where to plant; this knowledge would have prevented the necessity of being plowed-up. And 75 percent did not know that federal funds were available to buy fertilizer for next year's crop. Thus a substantial portion of the Black farmers lacked knowledge about important rules; ASCS personnel had failed to inform them.

Possibly of more consequence than their lack of knowledge about the cotton program is their lack of knowledge about government sponsored alternatives to the use of the land for cotton. Forty-two percent did not know about government programs for corn, sorghum and barley production. Fifty-eight percent did not know about government subsidies for pasture land. And 61 percent lacked any knowledge about government programs to help with soil and water problems.

With regard to treatment by and services from ASCS personnel, the data indicate that Black farmers were treated in a discriminatory fashion. (See Table 2). Almost all of the Black farmers, 90 percent, reported that they had visited the the county ASCS office. Eighty-three percent said that they were addressed by their first name and 50 percent reported that the treatment they received was different, i.e., inferior to the treatment of whites.

Much of the lack of knowledge about important ASCS programs can be explained by the lack of contact between ASCS personnel and Black farmers. Only 21 percent of the farmers reported that anyone from the ASCS had ever visited their farm or spoke in their church or other meeting. Only 33 percent said that they had ever heard of any ASCS meeting. A mere 5 percent reported receiving help or farming advise from any member of the ASCS county committee and only 27 percent reported such help from ASCS employees.

TABLE 1

KNOWLEDGE OF ASCS RULES AND PROGRAMS OF BLACK FARMERS IN ALABAMA*

Item	Percent Lacking Knowledge
Can Sell or Rent Part of Cotton Allotment (N = 130)	35
Can Ask ASCS to Change Projected Yield (N = 180)	81
Can Get Half of Subsidy Check Prior to Picking (N = 220)	34
Can Get Free Help on When to Plant From ASCS Office (N = 116)	64
Know That the Government Has Programs for Corn, Sorghum and Barley (N = 199)	42
Know About Government Programs to help with Soil and Water Problems (N = 222)	61
Know that After Cotton Crop is picked Government Money is available to Buy Fertilizer for Next Year's Crop (N = 217)	75
Know About Subsidy to Put Cotton acreage into Pasture Land (N = 221)	58

*N's in this Table and subsequent Tables vary due to inapplicability of questions and no responses.

TABLE 2

TREATMENT AND SERVICES FROM ASCS PERSONNEL

Item	Percent
Been to ASCS Office (N = 222)	90
Was called by his first name by ASCS office personnel (N = 199)	83
Treated differently than whites by ASCS office personnel (N = 199)	50
Has had someone from ASCS office visit farm, church, or other meeting (N = 222)	21
Ever heard of any meeting held by ASCS (N = 223)	33
Received help or farming advice from member of county ASCS Committee (N = 220)	5
Received help or farming advice from ASCS office personnel (N = 220)	27

The record of the FHA also leaves much to be desired. Most of the Black farmers lacked any knowledge about the types of loans which are technically available to them from the FHA. (See Table 3) Seventy-two percent did not know that the FHA had loans for soil and water improvement. Fifty-seven percent did not know about loans to help build, buy or fix-up a house or farm building. Sixty-five percent did not know that the FHA made loans to help buy land. And 68 percent were uninformed about loans to meet operating costs. Lack of knowledge about loans, of course, precludes getting the loans. This fact is evident in the statistics which show that only 37 percent of the farmers had even been to the FHA office and only 21 percent has actually ever received an FHA loan. (See Table 4) Only 15 percent reported ever hearing about FHA meetings. A mere 4 percent responded yes to the question as to whether they had received loan help or advice from FHA committeemen and only 13 percent reported such help from FHA staff members.

Most of the 37 percent who had visited the FHA county office indicated that they were treated in a discriminatory fashion. Seventy-six percent said that they had been called by their first name and 52 percent said that they had been treated differently than the whites who visited the office.

The FES is charged with the responsibility of providing rural people with research findings designed to improve their farming techniques and the quality of rural life. The data from this study indicate that the FES has done a poor job fulfilling this responsibility to Black farm families. Only 20 percent had ever been visited by a farm agent and 23 percent by a Home Demonstration agent. (See Table 5) Of these the overwhelming proportion, 88 percent and 94 percent, said that the persons visiting were Negroes. Two important points should be made regarding these findings. The first is that the FES work, as in the past, is conducted on a segregated basis. The second is that the potential workloads for Black personnel is almost five times higher than for white FES agents. The Black FES employees can hardly be blamed for the poor service.

Only 20 percent of the respondents had ever been to the county FES office. Of these, 55 percent said they were called by their first name and 35 percent said that they had been treated differently than white patrons.

The Effect of Racial Discrimination in the Farm Program

The findings of the present study lend strong support to the assertion that the USDA operates its programs in a racially discriminatory fashion. The USDA is doing a poor job of serving the Black farm family.

The implications of this fact go for beyond the obvious point that the USDA has failed to live up to its statuatory requirements, by not serving or misserving a large portion of its clientale. The findings can and I feel should be tied to

TABLE 3

KNOWLEDGE OF FHA PROGRAMS

Item	Percent Lacking Knowledge
Know that FHA has loans to make soil and water better (N = 229)	72
Know that FHA has loans to build, buy or fix-up a house or farm building (N = 228)	57
Know that FHA has loans to help buy land (N = 227)	65
Know that FHA has loans to help pay family or farming cost (N = 228)	68

TABLE 4

TREATMENT AND SERVICES BY FHA PERSONNEL

Item	Percent
Ever been to FHA Office (N = 223)	37
Called by first name by FHA Office Personnel (N = 86)	76
Treated differently than whites (N = 86)	52
Ever received FHA loan (N = 234)	21
Ever heard of any meeting held by FHA (N = 210)	15
Ever received loan help or advice from any member of FHA county Committee (N = 213)	4
Ever received loan help or advice from FHA Office personnel (N = 216)	13

TABLE 5

TREATMENT AND SERVICES FROM EXTENSION SERVICE PERSONNEL

Item	Percent Yes
Has anyone from Extension Service ever visited your home, farm or church to talk about new and better ways of farming (N = 218)	20
Was person who visited Negro (N = 43)	88
Ever have soil tested by Extension Service (N = 226)	28
Home visited by Home Economist (N = 236)	23
Was Home Economist a Negro (N = 53)	94
Ever visited Extension Service Office (N = 207)	20
Called by first name by people with county office (N = 42)	55
Treated differently than whites (N = 43)	35

significant social facts.

Two facts which have long been recognized by sociologists are: (1) that a disproportionally high number of rural Black Americans in the South exist in poverty; and (2) that the rate of migration away from the farm has been substantially higher for Negroes than for whites. The typical explanation for the former is that rural Black poverty exists because of educational deprivation, economic discrimination by business and industry and politcal discrimination by state and local governments. The standard explanation for the latter fact is that migration is being caused by farm mechanization and the breakdown of the tenant system. The standard explanations are of course valid, at least partially. However, given the vital importance of the agricultural programs to rural Americans, the failure of the USDA to serve rural Black families must be seen as an important element in the causal equations for explaining Black poverty and Black migration.

The agricultural programs were established for the purpose of improving the quality of life of rural Americans, to narrow the economic gap between rural and urban. The programs were designed to provide technical assistence in order to improve farming output, financial aid to help rural families acquire decent housing and economically viable farms, and price supports to protect farmers from the hazards of the market. The farm programs have undoubtedly been successful in reaching most farm families. However, the New Deal has yet to come to the Black farmer. He still exists in poverty and is driven from the land because of his inability to make ends meet. The economic gap has widened between him and his white counterpart.

The Need for the Future

Some may argue that the migration of Black Americans from the farms to the urban areas can only serve to better them economically. However, this is not the case. The rural migrant is ill-equipped to play a productive role in urban America. Because of his educational, social and economic deprivation he is typically unemployable or underemployable and thus is relegated to a life of welfare and dependency. Steps must be taken to slow the migration of Blacks from the farms and to raise their standard of living.

One solution of course is for the USDA to discharge its responsibility to the Black farm family. This will probably not happen, at least any time soon. It is hard to imagine a bureaucratic structure as large as the USDA suddenly reversing its programs and revamping its sturcture in order to begin to serve its Black constituents. Besides, the USDA denies that it has failed to serve Black Americans.

Probably a more realistic approach would be to look for alternative means of serving Black farmers. Probably the most hopeful endeavor along these lines has been the work of the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative. SWAFCA, as it is called, is a demonstration project funded in part by the Office of Economic Opportunity which seeks to help small farmers improve their standard of living through cooperative buying and selling, technical assistance on farming problems and low cost financing for the members. Of some interest here is that when SWAFCA first attempted to receive funding in Washington USDA officals opposed the idea saying that SWAFCA would merely duplicate much of its program. The originators of SWAFCA were able to convince OEO that in fact the USDA was not providing these services to Black farmers and thus there would be no duplication. While the SWAFCA model is a feasable solution, there seem to be little chance of more of them coming into existence; because of congressional pressure OEO has been reluctant to fund them.

One final point should be made. It is not enough to start serving the Black farmer at the same level as his white counterpart. Compensatory service must be provided in order to overcome the decades of neglect. The Federal government needs to institute massive programs designed to imporve the quality of life of rural Black Americans. Programs are needed which are designed to aid Black farmers in transforming their subsistent farms into economically viable operations. Without compensatory programs, the Black farmer is doomed to extinction.

FOOTNOTES

1 Results from this study have been previously reported in Glenn Howze, "Frequency and Percent Distributions of Items from the Study of Rural Poverty of Selected Alabama Counties Conducted by the Southern Rural Research Project During the Summer of 1967," Tuskegee Institute, Behavioral Science Research, 1968; and SRRP: First Annual Report, published by the Southern Rural Research Project, Selma, Alabama, 1968.

2 Alfred C. True, A History of Extension Work, 1785-1923, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1928, p. 190.

3 Edward D. Eddy, Jr., Colleges for Our Land and Time, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956, Chapter 8.

4 Sometimes Black extension workers were classified as specialists. However, they were typically "specialists" in general areas and thus really generalists.

5 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965.

6 Ibid., pp. 58, 59.

7 Ibid., p. 106.

8 Ibid., pp. 107, 108.

9 Hearing before the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Hearing held in Montgomery, Alabama, April 27 - May 2, 1968, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968.

10 Ibid., pp. 741-754.

11 Alabama State Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service in the Alabama Black Belt, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968.

STATUS AND PROSPECTS FOR EXTENSION RURAL SOCIOLOGY: RESEARCH NEEDS AND COOPERATION

Kenneth Koch, LSU; Charles Cleland, U. of Tenn.; William Kuvlesky, Texas A&M; Maurice Voland, U. of Ky.; and E. J. Niederfrank, Federal Extension Service, USDA.

Understanding and appreciating what Cooperative Extension is and how it functions is relevant to describing the history of sociology in extension work, to discussing what its prospects are, and to outlining sociology research needs that would be helpful to making extension work more effective.

In the first place, Cooperative Extension Work starts from the premise that its basic purpose is not necessarily to disseminate research findings per se about given subjects, but rather to help people to solve problems -- problems of people, problems of families, problems of groups, and problems of communities.

This view of purpose puts a quite different slant on what Cooperative Extension does and what it needs, in order to fulfill this purpose or mission. Most of all, it puts the major premium on problem determination and program development, and these with the involvement of people.

Second, the place of rural sociology in Cooperative Extension work has changed radically during the last half century. A few states had work called rural sociology as far back as the 1920's. Some of this work dealt with what is perceived by people here today as true sociology; it was concerned with human or social factors in standards and levels of living, human ecology, community life beyond the family, community institutions, organizational techniques and the like. But, unfortunately, many people, including administrators, thought of sociology in those days as sociability, and they included under this heading extension programs that related to family and community recreation, cultural arts, health improvement, and the like. For many people, both lay and professional, sociology meant the "noneconomic" part of standards and levels of living in contrast to the economic or agricultural production side. It was the "good life" part of farming. The best known extension recreation and cultural arts programs in the country, and there were several, were generally identified in the system as a part of rural sociology.

By now, much of this has changed; sociology in extension work today is generally perceived in much the same way that sociologists themselves would think of it -- the field which has to do with scientific treatment of human endeavor with respect to human ecology, socioeconomic change and trends, social systems, cultural patterns, value systems, leadership patterns, group development, community organization for action -- in relation to various extension programs and concerns of people.

Today we have in the United States officially identified sociology extension work in 27 states, which includes 37 sociologists and 34 of these have a Ph.D. degree. And in addition to these states, at least a dozen more utilize sociologists who are in other parts of the college of agriculture of the the university system, in some cases to considerable extent. Still about a dozen states make little or no use of any sociologist in their extension work, and most of these states are in the West plus a few others scattered in the South and East. Also, in every state extension service is a position called Extension Training (or Education) and Research, and in many cases the person or persons in these units have considerable sociology training, along with adult education. Further more, many administrators, program leaders and specialists, also county agents, now have at least one degree in rural sociology.

Advanced staff training has been stressed by Cooperative Extension for some 20 years, and many staff members taking up additional graduate training have chosen to include in it courses in sociology, education and related social science. Thus, today our field is more widely recognized and perceived more soundly than ever before, the deficiencies notwithstanding. And the resident teaching and research work in rural sociology has contributed to this advance just as much as have sociologists working with extension.

Sociology extension education should not be thought of merely in terms of personnel position, but rather in terms of departmental function or responsibility, coexistent with resident teaching and with research. Today the increasingly accepted concept is that every department is responsible for all three of these university functions, and each is to be conducted in relation to each other. State programs are moving in this direction. Frequently some division of labor on extension work takes place within departments, depending upon the particular problems to be dealt with and the particular competencies in the department staff, even though extension work may be the major assignment of some particular staff member.

Third, nearly all state extension services are trying to broaden their respective programs to deal more effectively with additional problems not generally included very much in extension work heretofore; also, trying to work more with new or less responsive audiences in special circumstances. Cooperative Extension is also called upon today to do more work with additional or different systems than it has ever worked with before. Part of this includes cooperation in helping other agencies carry out their own programs. Cooperative Extension is being increasingly called upon to perform an outreach function of the total university. The whole state in many cases is now becoming the university campus, with the university system having Cooperative Extension as its primary outreach arm serving the off-campus public. New public problems and new program thrusts also continually affect the extension educational situation.

In brief, it looks like the big thrusts of the 1970's are going to be on (1) rural development in terms of improving public services; (2) reducing hunger in terms of nutrition and health education; (3) improving environmental quality; and (4) youth development. Quality of living will be a much discussed subject. Running like a thread through all extension programs will be emphasis on developing educational work in the interests of families with limited resources, minority groups, and other people requiring special attention. More emphasis on more careful planning of strategies and on certain methods and techniques will all be in the picture during the 1970's. People centeredness will be the dominant theme.

As far as the Extension system is concerned, the new decade will probably see most emphasis being given to developing area or multi-county staffing organization, developing greater linkage with the total university, and improving state and county program planning with the people.

Big new impetus is to be given this latter effort -- more effective program development with the people -- during the next two years. It will contain much staff training at each level, with hopefully changes being made in procedures to better serve various types of disadvantaged people not now very well included in extension programs. This whole new emphasis is heavily sociological and educational in nature, relying much on material of these fields.

Changes like these in program content and in method must come into Cooperative Extension work if it is to continue effectively as a public educational system. More sociological researches relevant to all these areas of program and system concern are greatly needed.

Fourth is the very fundamental point that what we have been saying should by now have given you considerable indication of the major methodological problems and sociological aspects which are crucial to doing effective Cooperative Extension education work today. The expanding extension work of today especially requires several sociological competencies, as follows:

1. Competence relating to situational analysis, including both a look backward at socioeconomic trends and a look forward with implications for the years ahead, and including problem identification.

2. Competence about the entire area of problem clarification, problem solving and social action processes.

3. Competence about people involvement, leadership development, group development, organizational methodology and systemic linkage.

4. Competence about the entire area of motivation, cultural change, communication and educational strategy and technologies for effectively getting the job done or making progress toward goals.

5. Competence about socioeconomic development, family and community standards of living, assessment of needs and adjustments for rural improvement.

6. Competence about educational research, program evaluation, and especially applied research for understanding given problem situations and emerging needs for extension work.

In this list are various significant implications and ideas about sociology research needed and applied sociology needed in extension educational work today. For example, we simply do not have enough knowledge about how to work effectively with the less responsive people of disadvantaged situations. In fact, the role of sociology in extension education is properly becoming more and more of a research role.

Fifth is that Cooperative Extension abilities have not kept pace with the new demands mentioned or implied in what has been said. All too many staff members, from new agents to older state and federal staff workers, simply do not have the basic philosophy of extension education previously alluded to, and certainly not the social science competencies to work at it effectively in terms of the tasks and requirements mentioned.

To be sure, many are more able in this regard than before, but too many are deficient, because of increasing specialization of their own fields of work and correspondingly less social science-educational training; also, because of the great changes of the times which are bringing the new demands and the new definitions of Cooperative Extension responsibilities. Still another factor in our deficiency is the sheer dearth of research findings about content areas crucial to extension educational strategy; there simply is not enough that is really relevant or applicable, and not enough adaptation and assistance to make it applicable.

It is not the lack of technical subject information for answering given client problems that most frustrate extension workers, but rather, the lack of findings and understandings essential to program development strategy with the people. This statement, in turn, emphasizes that the main clientele of sociology in extension is the staff itself -- from administration down to the lowliest agents and subprofessional aides. It is among staff people in extension and in other agencies, and among the citizen leaders of organizations, where lies the greatest needs and wants for sociological assistance. This is true not only for the United States, but for the expanding development work of foreign countries and these programs are beginning to recognize this fact.

The basic fact we must realize is that the status accorded sociology in extension work today and its future prospects, like that of any other department or program of human endeavor, basically depends on the quality of product; that is, on how well we as sociologists can and will deliver the goods.

As already mentioned, sociology status in Cooperative Extension work today varies by states. And it also varies within states among different program areas and even among different individuals.

Thus, our great challenge ahead, as always, is to be concerned about who we are, what is our role in relation to given situations, and about the quality of our own individual programs of work, as we endeavor to serve staff in the extension system and serve other people through the system.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF URBAN AND RURAL HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN KENTUCKY, MAY, 1969

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PREFACE

It was decided that a rather comprehensive presentation of a broad scope of data should be presented rather than to dwell upon one or two outstanding differences between rural and urban students because the major difference is one that appears to be "Life Style", "Cultural" or "Level of Living" which is the result of a constallation of related factors rather than only one or two major differences.

Therefore, the tables were presented in detail in the original presentation but only a few are included in this condensed version.

* * * *

In a seminar composed mainly of educators from urban and rural high schools in Kentucky, it was hypothesized that today there is actually no diffe ences between rural and urban high school students. The modern high school, mass media, and transportation facilities that are available to the rural students probably have resulted in developing similar students in both rural and urban high schools and the past differences between urban and rural students n longer exist.

To test this hypothesis a survey was made of two high schools in Kentucky in May, 1969. A city school system of approximately 1500 high school students and a rural school system of approximately 800 high school students were selec ed for comparison. The month of May was chosen since it would allow for all the students to have had time to be influenced by the school environment and also provide sufficient time to develop a questionnaire and make the necessary arrangements for its execution. All of the students in the urban school reside within the city limits of a 40,000 incorporated city in Western Kentucky. The majority of the students in the rural school resided outside of incorporat towns in Central Kentucky and were transported to school by bus. All the students in attendance on the day of the survey were given the questionnaire by their homeroom teacher who supervised the completion of the survey and the punching of the port-a-punch IBM cards.

Acknowledgements. Credit for initiating the survey and developing the questionnaire goes to Mrs. Georgia Sublet, a high school counselor and for administrative assistance to Mr. Chester Redmon, the principal of the urban school and to Mr. Thomas Florence, the principal of the rural school. The faculty and students of both schools are congratulated for their wholehearted participation. The computer center at Western Kentucky University provided it services and assistance freely and without cost.

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The survey questionnaire had been pretested in a university training school before being modified for final use. In the pretest questionnaire open ended questions were used and remarks were solicited in an attempt to arrive at meaningful and complete categories. Since the port-a-punch card can be used for only 40 questions, the pret-test also aided in the final choice of questions.

Prior approval of the high school principal had been secured and he provided time during a faculty meeting to instruct the homeroom teachers. Each teacher had a packet delivered to her prior to the time of the survey and the packet was picked up immediately after the students had completed the questionnaire. The IBM cards were checked for spurious punches and five were found to be so improperly punched they were not useable. One student requested that its card not be used. There were 1413 urban students consisting of 690 males and 723 females. There were 752 rural students consisting of 403 males and 349 females.

The students did not make their choices directly on the survey form but on port-a-punch IBM cards. As a consequence, some spurious punches appeared on the cards, due to either an honest error or merely punching an inappropriate punch. These spurious punches appear in all the tables as "no information" since there was no way to evaluate such spurious punches. This technique saved the card for use in other areas of evaluation and tabulation. However, as can be seen in the tables, this type of punching error increases with the more sensitive questions and decreases to zero in the less sensitive questions. It is also less frequent in the rural school than in the urban school and less frequent among the girls than the boys. The questions on age, grade, and sex were designed to provide some indication of improper punching, as well as, for imperical data. It appears that high school students can be expected to use port-a-punch IBM cards effectively when supervised. However, spurious punches will occur in what the students consider to be sensitive questions. One can expect 98-99% of all items on port-a-punch cards to be properly punched which certainly speeds up the data processing of questionnaires.

I. Age

1. The age range of the students in both schools was from 12 to 20 years of age.

2. The urban school had a few more students in ages 14 to 15 and a few less students in ages 17 to 18 than did the rural school.

3. The rural males and females had the same average (16.2), but there were more females at the 14-15 age category.

4. Urban Males were on the average 15.9 years of age and slightly older than the females (15.7).

5. Combining ages 15 and 16, it is found that 49% of the urban males, 55% of the urban females, 49% of the rural males and 44% of the rural females fell into this age range.

(continued on page 3)

6. The average of all the rural students was 16.2 years as compared to 15.8 years for all the urban students. This is an age differential o about 5 months.

7. The average age of the rural males was 16.2 years as compared to 15.9 years for the urban males. This is an age differential of about 4 months.

8. The average age of the rural females was 16.2 years as compared to 15.7 years for the urban females. This is an age differential of 6 months.

9. Half of the students in this study are 15-16 year olds or in the "middle teenage" years.

10. This sample of urban and rural high school students can certainly be described as "teenagers."

II The Urban Students - Age and Grade by Sex.

1. The 9th grade males had a wide range in ages from 12-18 years while the 9th grade females were clustered in ages 14-15. However, 88% of males as compared to 98% of the females in the 9th grade were 14-15 years of age.

2. The 10th grade males range in age from 13-18 years while the females had an age spread of 13-17 years, however, 88% of the males and 96% of the 10th grade females were in the 15-16 age range.

3. The 11th grade males had an age span of 15-19 years while it was 15-1 years for the females. 89% of the males and 97% of the females in th 11th grade were in the 16-17 age range.

4. The 12th grade males indicated an age span of 13-20 years. However, the three punches in the 14-15 age categories are highly questionabl punches and probably more realistically should have been added to the "no information" category as spurious punches.

   The 12th grade females had an average range of 16-19 years. However, 88% of the males and 97% of the females in the 12th grade had an age range of 17-18 years.

5. The urban females tend to be more homogeneous for age and grade than is so for the urban male.

6. When averages are compared, it is found that in general for the urban students that 9th graders are in their 14th year, that 10th graders are in their 15th year, that 11th graders are in their 16th year, and that 12th graders are in their 17th year.

TABLE 2. A COMPARISON OF AGE WITH GRADE OF STUDENTS IN AN URBAN HIGH SCHOOL, KENTUCKY, MAY, 1969

Sex	MALE										FEMALE									
Grade	9		10		11		12		Total		9		10		11		12		Total	
Age	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
12	3	1																		
13	1	1	1	1					2	*			2	1					2	*
14	91	45	2	1			2	1	97	14	117	55	2	1					120	17
15	87	43	79	48	1	1	3	2	170	25	92	43	124	58	1	1			217	30
16	17	8	66	40	83	52			166	24	4	2	81	38	95	58	1	1	181	25
17			14	8	59	37	71	44	144	21			1	*	63	39	74	57	138	19
18	1	1	1	1	9	6	70	44	81	12			1	*	4	2	52	40	57	8
19					2	1	10	6	12	2							2	1	2	*
20							2	1	2	*										
No Info	3	1	1	1	5	3	3	2	12	2	2	*	2	1			2	1	6	1
TOTAL	203 (206)	100	164	100	159	100	161	100	690	100	215	100	213	100	163	100	131	100	723	100

(+3 spurious punches)

Average	14.6	15.6	16.5	17.5	15.9	14.5	15.4	16.4	17.4	15.7

* = less than 1%

TABLE 3. A COMPARISON OF AGE WITH GRADE OF STUDENTS IN A RURAL HIGH SCHOOL, KENTUCKY, MAY, 1969

Sex	Male										Female									
Grade	9		10		11		12		Total		9		10		11		12		Total	
Age	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
12	1	1							1	*	1	1							1	*
13	2	2							2	*										
14	33	26			1	1			34	8	46	46							46	13
15	65	51	28	32	1	1			94	23	23	39	23	35			2	2	70	20
16	21	16	46	52	37	39	1	1	105	26	10	10	43	51	29	39	1	1	83	24
17	4	3	12	14	39	41	28	30	83	21	2	2	11	13	36	48	36	40	85	24
18			1	1	16	16	53	58	71	18			1	1	10	13	43	48	54	16
19							6	7	6	2							7	8	7	2
20							1	1	1	*	1	1							1	*
No Info	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	7	2	1	1					1	1	2	*
TOTAL	127	100	88	100	96	100	92	100	403	100	100	100	84	100	75	100	90	100	349	[illegible]
Average	14.9		15.8		16.7		17.8		16.2		14.7		15.8		16.8		17.6		16.2	

* = less than 1%

III. The Rural Students - Age and Grade by Sex.

1. The range in age for 9th grade males was 12-17 years and 12-20 years for the females. However, 77% of the males and 85% of the females were 14-15 years of age.

2. The 10th grade males and females had an age range of 15-18 years. 84% of the males and 85% of the females in the 10th grade were clustered at ages 15-16.

3. The 11th grade males had an age range of 13-18 years while it was 15-18 years of age for the females. 80% of the males and 87% of the females were clustered at ages 16-17.

4. The 12th grade males had an age range of 16-20 years and the females had an age range of 15-18 years. But 88% of both sexes were 17-18 years of age.

5. The rural females tend to be more homogeneous for age and grade than was so for the rural males.

6. When averages are compared, it is found that for the most part, 9th graders were in their 14th year, 10th graders were in their 15th year, 11th graders were in their 16th year and 12th graders were in their 17th year. This above age and grade pattern exists for both the urban and rural students with the rural students being slightly older.

IV. Summary of Age and Grade by Sex

1. 88% of the urban males as compared to 77% of the rural males were 14-15 years of age in the 9th grade.

2. 98% of the urban females as compared to 85% of the rural females were 14-15 years of age in the 9th grade.

3. 88% of the urban males as compared to 84% of the rural males were 15-16 years of age in the 10th grade.

4. 96% of the urban females as compared to 85% of the rural females were 15-16 years of age in the 10th grade.

5. 89% of the urban males as compared to 80% of the rural males were 16-17 years of age in the 11th grade.

6. 97% of the urban females as compared to 87% of the rural females were 16-17 years of age in the 11th grade.

7. Both the urban and rural males had 88% who were 17-18 years of age in the 12th grade.

8. 97% of the urban females as compared to 88% of the rural females were 17-18 years of age in the 12th grade.

9. Urban students appear to be more homogeneous in age and grade grouping than was so for the rural students and especially the urban females.

V. Grade Distribution

1. When this sample of teenagers is compared by grades, it is found that 30% were in the 9th grade, 25% were in the 10th grade, 23% were in the 11th grade, and 22% were in the 12th grade.

(It is interesting to note that out of the 2165 students punching IBM Port-a-Punch Cards that only 6 cards were multiple punched for grade that resulted in their being classified as "no information").

2. The percentage of males in each grade by schools was more uniform than it was for the females. There were 2% more urban males than rural males in the 10th grade while this was so for 6% of the urban females. Further, there was 8% more 12th grade rural females than urban females

3. In both schools over half of the students were in the 9th and 10th grades. 54% of the urban males were in 9th and 10th grades as compare to 53% of the rural males. 59% of the urban females were in the 9th and 10th grades as compared to 52% of the rural females.

VI. SUMMARY OF COMPARISONS

Rural students as compared to urban students in this study were generally found to be:

Comment

1. Slightly older (about 5-6 months on the average)
2. Slightly older by grades.
3. Slightly more uniform in ages in grades 10 and 11.
4. With a higher percentage in the 9th grade and a smaller percentage in the 10th grade.
5. From larger families.
6. From families with both parents present.
7. Without weekly allowances and more so for the females than for the males.
8. Without weekly earnings and more so for the females than for the males.
9. Church members and more so for the females than for the males.
10. More inclined to "go steady" with a person of the same religion as their ow and more so for the females than for the males.
11. More inclined to attend church once a week.
12. More willing to "go steady" with a female their own age or 1 to 2 years younger. Urban males felt about the same.

12a. More willing to "go steady" with a male 1 to 2 years older or even 3 to 5 years older. Urban females felt about the same.

13. From families where the occupational field of the head of the house was more likely to be skilled or machine operator.
14. From families where the highest level of education of their parents would be less than completion of high school.
15. More inclined to choose median status occupational fields rather than top status occupational fields (skilled, administrative, machine operator--males) (clerical, administrative, skilled--females)

16. More inclined to think their high school program is preparing them for general work or a special vocation.
17. More inclined to terminate their education at the completion of high school.
18. Less active in sports.
19. Less active in subject related clubs.
20. Less active in music clubs.
21. More inclined to believe they are emotionally mature for marriage or express uncertainty.
22. More inclined to believe they are socially mature for marriage or express uncertainty.
23. More inclined to believe they are educationally mature for marriage or express uncertainty.
24. More inclined to believe they are financially mature for marriage or express uncertainty.

VII. Implications and/or Inferences

1. The differences between urban and rural high school students does exist but it is not as great as it might appear on the surface because the same survey instrument was equally understood by both grouping of students.

2. Rural students tend to be more traditionally and conservative in their orientation to society in such areas as work, religion, family and sex roles.

3. There does not appear to be the great diversity of behavior patterns among Rural students that exists among urban students.

4. The life style, occupation and education of the parents of the rural students are not as diverse among the urban students' parents.

5. In all probability, due to the heterogeneous nature of the student clientel in the urban high school more pressure for change is exerted upon it than upon the rural high school because of its more homogeneous clientel.

6. In all probability, more urban students are college bound than have the ability while some rural students who have ability for college are not motivated to try.

7. Rural students, especially females, are marriage and family oriented to a greater degree earlier in life than are Urban students. However, a sizeable percentage of the rural students expressed uncertainty about their maturity for marriage and possibly could profit from guidance in this area.

8. Rural students have a need for guidance and counseling that will lead to a wider range of occupational aspirations, especially at the higher levels, that have as a basic entrance requirement a college education.

9. If participation as a young person is an indication of participation as an adult, then rural students will not be as active as their urban counterparts when both are adults.

10. The vast majority of the cases in both the urban and the rural high school can be expected to be in the 9th grade in their 14th year, in the 10th grade in their 15th year, in the 11th grade in their 16th year and in the 12th grade in their 17th year. Apparently social promotion exists to some degree in both systems.

11. It appears that our hypothesis in regard to age-grade placement and with whom they would "go steady" is acceptable but that the null hypothesis has to be accepted in other areas.

Table 5. A Comparison of Students in an Urban and a Rural High School by Size of Family. (Ky., May, 1969)

SEX	MALE				FEMALE			
SCHOOL	URBAN		RURAL		URBAN		RURAL	
Family Size	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1	8	1.2	7	1.7	6	.8	1	.3
2	19	2.8	14	3.5	23	3.2	6	1.7
3	95	13.7	22	5.5	90	12.4	15	4.3
4	173	25.0	33	8.2	137	18.9	31	8.9
5	155	22.5	46	11.4	169	23.4	46	13.2
6	108	15.6	47	11.7	115	15.9	51	14.6
7	48	7.0	38	9.4	75	10.4	39	11.2
8	30	4.3	33	8.2	48	6.6	29	8.3
9 or More	46	6.7	160	39.7	52	7.3	131	37.5
No Information	8	1.2	3	.7	8	1.1	0	0
TOTAL	690	100.0	403	100.0	723	100.0	349	100.0

Rural families tend to be larger than urban families as shown by the percent of the students who come from families with 9 or more members.

Forty percent of the urban males and 38% of the rural females indicated they came from families that had 9 or more members.

Seven percent of the urban males and females indicated they came from families with 9 or more members.

Chart 12. The Percentage Distribution of the Age of Person you would prefer to "Go Steady" with as reported by Male Students in an Urban and a Rural High School in Kentucky, May, 1969. (N=1093)

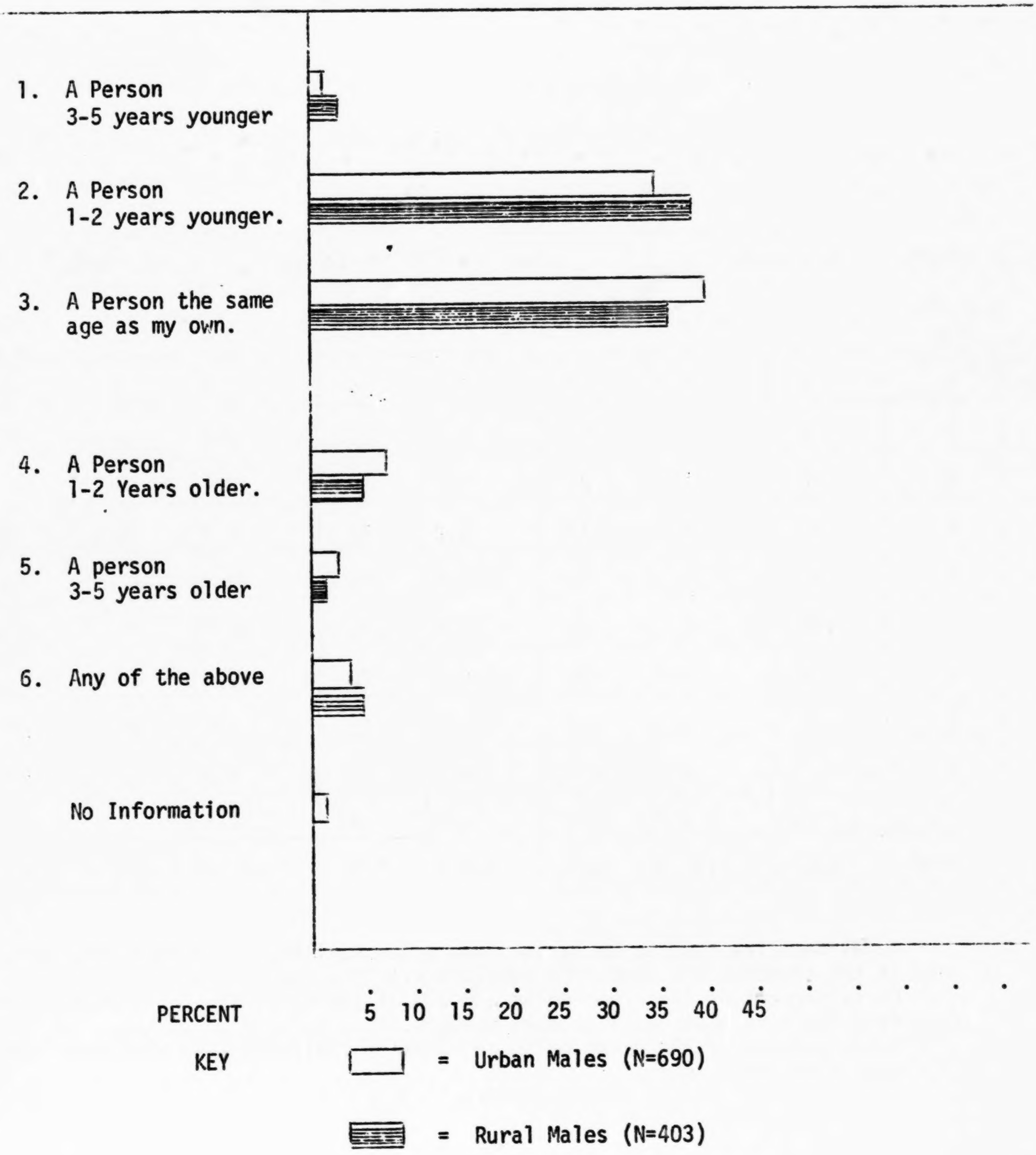

Chart 12b. The Percentage Distribution of the Age of a Person you would prefer to "Go Steady" with as reported by Female Students in an Urban and a Rural High School in Kentucky, May, 1969. (N=1072)

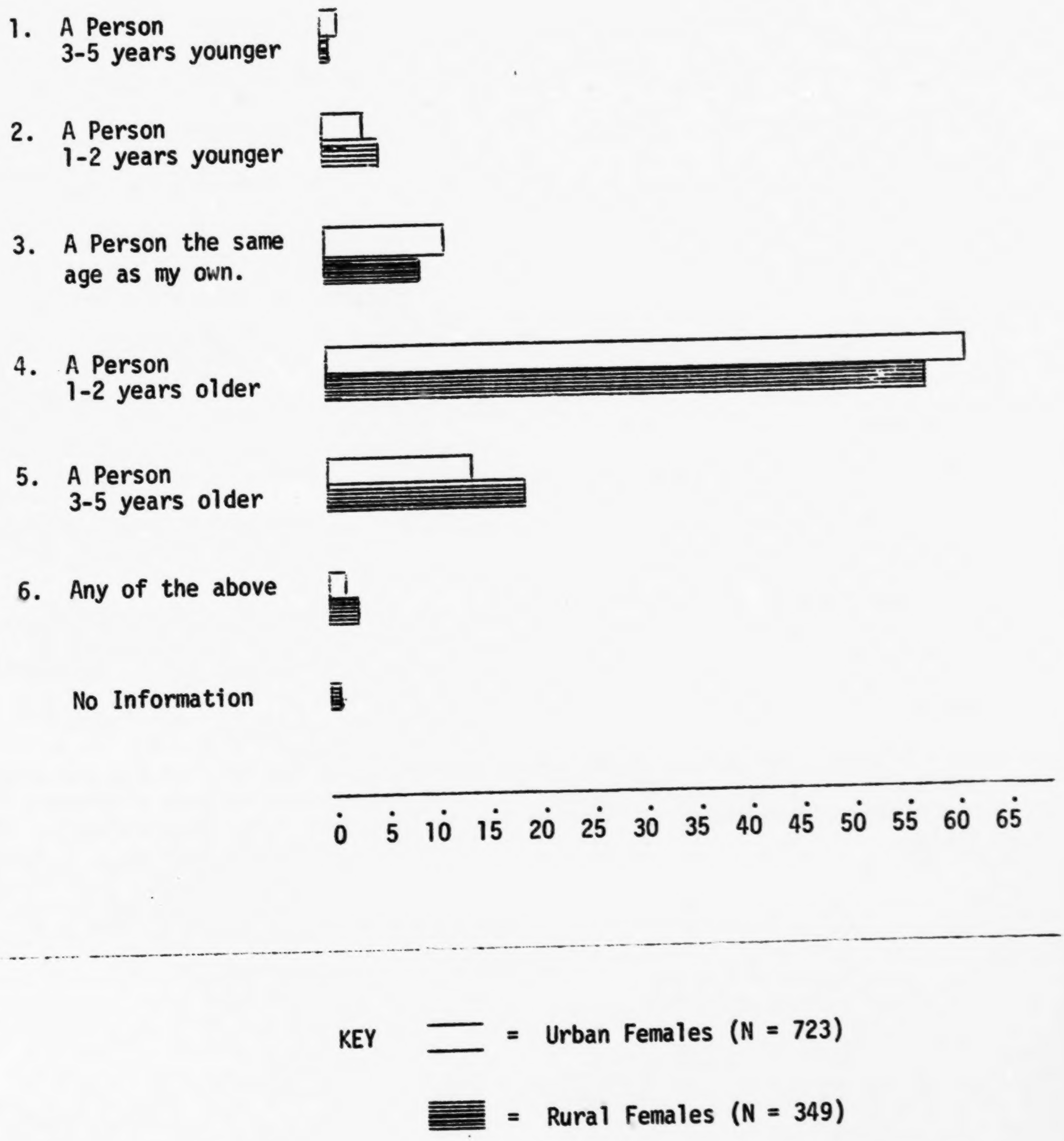

Table 13. A Comparison of the Occupational Field of the Head of the House of Students by Sex in an Urban and a Rural High School in Kentucky, May, 1969.

SEX	MALE				FEMALE			
SCHOOL	URBAN		RURAL		URBAN		RURAL	
Occupational Field	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
EXECUTIVES	116	16.8	18	4.5	85	11.8	6	1.7
BUSINESS MGRS	158	22.9	44	10.9	192	26.5	34	9.7
ADMINISTRATION	117	17.0	51	12.7	96	13.3	39	11.2
CLERICAL	67	9.7	46	11.4	73	10.1	29	8.3
SKILLED	108	15.7	114	28.2	116	16.0	110	31.6
MACHINE OPER.	63	9.1	93	23.1	88	12.2	82	23.5
UNSKILLED	38	5.5	35	8.7	55	7.6	44	12.6
No Information	23	3.3	2	.5	18	2.5	5	1.4
TOTAL	590	100.0	403	100.0	723	100.0	349	100.0

The above occupational fields were adapted from August B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Positions. Yale Station, New Haven, 1965. A three page instruction sheet was available for each student to aid him in selecting one of the above categories most appropraite for the head of his house.

A larger percentage of the Urban students have the head of the house in the top three occupational fields while the Rural students have a larger percentage of the heads of their houses in the lower three occupational fields.

Table 14. A Comparison of the Highest Level of School Completion by Parents of Students by Sex in an Urban and a Rural High School in Kentucky, May, 1969.

SEX	MALE				FEMALE			
SCHOOL	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural	
Level of Schooling	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
A Degree above a College degree	104	15.1	12	3.0	77	10.7	10	2.9
A College Degree	99	14.3	8	2.0	95	13.1	6	1.7
Attended College	130	18.8	37	9.2	141	19.5	13	3.7
High School Grad.	201	29.2	118	29.3	203	28.0	104	29.7
Attended H.S.	73	10.6	66	16.4	104	14.4	61	17.5
7-9th Grade	51	7.4	125	31.0	81	11.2	134	38.4
6th Grade or less	14	2.0	34	8.4	18	2.5	17	4.9
No Information	18	2.6	3	.7	4	.6	4	1.2
TOTAL	690	100.0	403	100.0	723	100.0	349	100.0

The above levels of schooling were adapted from August B. Hollingshead. Two Factor Index of Social Position. Yale Station, New Haven, 1965.

It is interesting to note that approximately the same percent (29) of these students' parents were high school graduates.

However, a larger percentage of the Urban students' parents had some college (the top three categories) while a larger percentage of the Rural Students' parents had not completed high school (the bottom three categories).

INVESTIGATION OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MIGRATION INTENT AND VOCATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS OF NORTH CAROLINA RURAL YOUTH

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High school seniors must make and implement vocational and educational plans which will be of lasting consequence to themselves and the society of which they are a part. Such plans are determined within a framework of many variables in the environment of the student. Some of these variables are social, such as the expectations of his parents and the norms of his peers. Others are personal, deriving from his own set of values and goals. In each case, they serve to determine directions and set boundaries upon student ambitions.

In recent years, high school seniors have been subjected to the pressures of an almost unprecedented process of migration. This factor potentially is related to the probability that they will seek or complete advanced education, as well as bearing upon the type of vocation to which they will aspire.

The purpose of the study reported herein was to determine the relationships between a student's intention to migrate from his community of residence and his vocational and educational expectations.

Procedure

The Sample

The sample consisted of 1068 senior students present in the sample schools on the day of the interview. Data were collected in the late spring when it was reasonably certain that each respondent would be a bona fide high school graduate. Twenty-three schools were chosen to represent each of the non-metropolitan economic areas of North Carolina. Each individual school was that nearest the average size in the area offering a comprehensive curriculum. Data were gathered by a schedule administered at the school.

Definition of Terms

Operational definitions of terms basic to the study are presented.

Migration Intent. The intent of the student to migrate from the community in which he was resident at the time of data collection. The general understanding was that migration would occur within a few years following graduation.

Vocational Expectation. The name of the occupation in which the student expected to engage following "the completion of your education."

Educational Expectation. An expression of intent to enroll in a four-year college in the fall following graduation from high school. Only students able to name a college of enrollment were considered to have a positive educational expectation.

Socioeconomic Status. Categories were derived by transforming the occupation of the student's father into a numerical score based on the North-Hatt occupational prestige scale.

Intelligence. To aid in overcoming scoring discrepancies represented in the school records used to establish IQ, broad categories were established. A score of less than 90 was classed as low intelligence; scores between 90 and 110 were classed as medium; and those above 110, as high.

Residence. Residence categories used were: open country, both farm and nonfarm; village, including all centers of population up to 2500 inhabitants; and town, including centers with more than 2500 persons.

Race. Respondents were classified as white or Negro.

Hypotheses

1. Intention to migrate will be directly related to the prestige of expected occupation.

2, Intention to migrate will be directly related to the probability of attending a four-year college.

Method of Analysis

Analysis of the data was similar to the procedure which has come to be known as "partialling." It varies in that the independent variable has but two categories of dimension. As used here, the analytical technique consisted of a three-step process.

1. Determination of whether the anticipated direction of relationship between the independent and dependent variables existed.

2. Determination of whether any of a series of logically associated other variables was associated with the dependent variable of the primary relationship.

3. Partialling of the sample into categories for each of the associated other variables to determine if this disrupted the anticipated independent-dependent variable relationship.

Engagement in the second and third steps was contingent upon a positive finding in the preceding step.

The major test of relationship between the primary variables consisted of visual examination for the anticipated directionality. As an additional check, chi-square analysis was conducted. Since the proposed relationship was directional, one-tailed probability values were utilized. The level of rejection was set at .05.

Migration Intent and Vocational Aspiration

The concentration of prestige occupations in urban areas is proceeding apace. Not so long ago the doctor, as an example, was found practicing in the rural area to greater extent than now. Better transportation has made it less necessary for him to be in close physical contact with his potential clientele. And he has assumed that he will be better able to practice quality medicine if he is in close contact with hospitals, specialists, and supply houses -- facilities to be found most commonly in urban centers.

Similar rationale could be developed for those other prestigious occupations at one time found in the rural area. Surely, it must be accepted that the distribution of prestige among occupations is imperfect and rural areas are host to many more of the occupations of lesser prestige.

If this is the case, ambitious rural youth, eager to obtain occupations of high prestige and aware of the limitations of the local environment, should anticipate a necessity to migrate in pursuit of prestigious occupations. Beyond this, the personality structure which develops ambitions expressed as desire for occupations of high prestige might likewise goad its possessor to seek additional worlds to conquer or brighter lights by which to illuminate his accomplishment~~s~~.

Examination of the data showed that a greater proportion of students who intended to migrate expected to engage in occupations of high prestige than was the case for those students who did not foresee migration, Table 1. This was true for the entire sample as well as for the male and female components.

Relationship of the Control Variables to Vocational Expectation

Other variables elsewhere shown to be related to occupational prestige might be influential of the presumed relationship between migration intent and vocational expectation. The sex of the respondent has been shown to be related to vocational expectation in Table 1, where the female component contained a greater proportion of individuals expecting occupations of high prestige than did the male.

The relationship of socioeconomic status, intelligence, residence and race to vocational expectation is shown in Table 2. Each was related with the sole exception of race and that only for the male component.

Distribution of the Control Variable through the Migration Categories

There is a condition wherein the antecedent variables need not be controlled even though shown to be related to the dependent variable. If the antecedent variable is equitably distributed across the independent variable, it may be presumed that its effects are cancelled out and ineffective of the relationship between independent and dependent variables.

As a result of the distributions of the antecedent variables shown in Table 3, it was possible to conduct further investigation of the migration intent-vocational expectation relationship without controlling for socioeconomic status. The variables of intelligence, residence, race, and sex were used as controls.

Analysis of the Primary Relationship with Antecedent Variables Controlled

Intelligence. Control of the variable of intelligence did not affect the previously noted relationship between migration intent and vocational expectation, Table 4. Increasing proportions of students anticipated vocations of high prestige as respondent intelligence increased. But in each intelligence category, for both males and females, a greater proportion of migrants than of nonmigrants expected occupations of high prestige. Intelligence could not be presumed to account for the difference in vocational expectation between migrants and nonmigrants.

Residence. Control on residence of respondent disrupted the observed relationship between migration intent and vocational expectation, Table 5. Open country residents continued the expected relationship. Village residents were schismatic, with the anticipated relationship observable among males but not among females. Among those respondents from towns, the relationship was disrupted for both male and female respondents; nonmigrants had high vocational expectations in greater proportion than did migrants.

Residence to large degree explains the migration intent-vocational expectation relationship. The anticipated relationship obtained among open country residents, wherein opportunity to engage in occupations of high prestige is limited. It became ambivalent in the village group, a residence category in which presumably there is greater opportunity to engage in occupations which scale in the high prestige range. It disappeared among respondents residing in town who apparently are able in large measure to satisfy their expectation of engaging in vocations of high prestige without moving.

These findings lend support to the theory expounded earlier: of increasing opportunity to engage in occupations of high prestige as one resides in increasingly greater population concentrations. It is considered unusual, however, that the effects of residence should appear in the limited concentration differentials characteristic of the categories used here. It must be assumed that the residence variable is a sensitive one, the effects of which are responsive to minor changes in size of center.

Race. With the relationship between migration intent and vocational expectation so well explained by the variable of residence, continuance of analysis was rather academic. However, in the interest of uniformity, and scientific curiosity, the effect of race was investigated, Table 6. The anticipated relationship was observed among white students, more noticeably among males. By a narrow but obvious margin the proportion of Negro students anticipating occupations of high prestige was greater among those who did not intend to migrate. This apparently contradictory condition quite probably is related to the residence variable. Many more of the Negro respondents were from village and town residences than was the case for the white students. The observed relationship between residence category and vocational expectation may, therefore, be sufficient to explain the high percentage of nonmigrant Negro students who expect occupations of high prestige.

Migration Intent and Educational Expectation

The student who evidences an expectation of advanced educational achievement may be considered more ambitious, more desirous of social mobility, than his contemporary who does not set his educational goals as high. Associated with that ambition might be a perceived necessity of migrating from his home community as a means of attaining the goals he has set for himself. This section of the paper deals with the extent to which this was the case. The hypothesis under investigation was that greater proportions of students who anticipated college enrollment would be found among those who expected to migrate.

The predicted relationship between migration intent and educational expectation was observed, Table 7. A greater proportion of those students who intended to migrate expeted to attend a four-year college than was true of those who planned to remain in their current community of residence. This condition was true of the entire sample as well as of the male and female components. The directional hypothesis received initial substantiation.

Relationship of the Control Variables to Educational Expectations

To determine the effect of antecedent variables upon the primary relationship, tests were undertaken to determine whether sex, socioeconomic status, intelligence, residence, and race were related to the educational expectation of the sample, Table 8. It was observed that each of these variables was related to educational expectation and potentially effective of the migration intent-educational expectation relationship. It was necessary as a result to exercise control over these variables before it was possible to accept the primary relationship at face value.

Distribution of the Control Variables through the Migration Categories

A check was made to determine whether the antecedent variables might be equitably distributed across the migration categories, Table 3. Socioeconomic status was found to be equitably distributed and was not controlled in further analysis.

Analysis of the Primary Relationship with Antecedent Variables Controlled

Intelligence. The anticipated relationship between migration intent and educational expectation generally obtained when intelligence was used as a control variable, Table 9. However, the direction of the relationship was reversed for low intelligence males, wherein those who did not expect to migrate contained a larger proportion who expected advanced educational attainment.

The anticipated influence of intelligence upon educational expectation was generally observed. The proportion of students who expected to attend college tended to increase directly with intelligence, both for migrants and nonmigrants, male and female. There was a minor modification of this tendency for the medium intelligence group. The observed tendencies were substantially as anticipated and the effect of intelligence as an antecedent variable could not be presumed to account for the primary relationship shown in Table 7.

Residence. Residence, used as a control, had little effect upon the relationship between migration intent and educational expectation, Table 10. The anticipated relationship obtained, in the expected direction, for all but the village female group. Residence did not have the strong explanatory value for the migration intent-educational expectation relationship that it possessed for the migration intent-vocational expectation relationship.

Race. There was a strongly evident difference in the nature of the relationship between white and Negro respondents, Table 11. For white students the relationship was of the anticipated nature. Migrants contained a greater percentage with high educational expectation. For Negro students the relationship was reversed. More students expected attendance at college among the nonmigrant group.

The reversed migration intent-educational expectation relationship among Negro students is not explainable on a residential base. Attainment of advanced education is not dependent upon migration in the sense that attainment of a high prestige occupation may be. The anticipated relationship between migration intent and educational expectation was based upon a premise of value internalization causative of ambition, expressed as a drive for advanced education occurring simultaneously with a desire to seek achievement in new environments.

The Negro segment of the sample gave evidence of the drive toward attainment. They expressed expectation of college attendance in greater proportions than was true of their white contemporaries. But they did not adhere to the allegedly associated desire to move from their home community in pursuit of life goals. They appeared to believe that they would be able to advance themselves in the context of their local communities, utilizing the fruits of advanced education in the local environment.

These conclusions must be qualified by bringing attention to the special nature of the Negro senior high school student. He is by definition other than typical of all Negro youth his age, having given evidence of superior qualities by attaining the status of senior high school student. Coupled with an altruistic desire to be of service in the local community, this selectivity may provide a rationale for the greater expectation of nonmigrants. But the question of reality of expectation is left unanswered. It might be presumed with good reason that the community of residence of many of these students would be incapable of providing them with the level of expectation to which they strive nor to absorb the energies which they apparently intend to express in that local setting.

Conclusions

A general conclusion may be drawn that the social context within which socialization occurs tends to create attitudinal sets among students resulting in expression of migration intents bearing direct relationships to vocational and educational expectation.

Antecedent variables to some extent were affective of the primary relationships, with residence and race most disruptive. The variable of residence appeared to account for the migration intent-vocational expectation relationship rather completely. Both migration relationships were reversed in the case of Negro students.

Several unanticipated findings were contained in the data. For one, female expectation consistently was greater than that of males. This is contrary to the findings of previous studies and to some extent appears inconsistent with reality. The greater migration to urban areas characteristic of females may help to explain the phenomenon but is not totally satisfactory in this era of declining populations in both farm and small town locales. Females, many of whom will in fact become housewives, may have been exercising their vocational imaginations. But this explanation does not reduce the discrepancy in educational expectations which were based on more solid foundations.

Another unanticipated finding was that the expectation of Negro students consistently was greater than that for whites. The only explanation which comes to mind has been presented -- the selectivity function represented by the Negro senior high school student. The temptation, indeed the necessity, to drop out of school is great for the Negro student. Those who remain must be, on the average, students of superior ability, possessed of high individual motivation, and subjects of great support and encouragement by family members and teachers.

The tendency of the Negro student of high expectation to be represented to greater degree among nonmigrants than among migrants was another unanticipated finding. It is counter to previous findings. This intention on the part of these students may well be a recently developed attitude indicative of an increased perception of an ability to obtain a worthy life in the current milieu. Conversely, it may be an indicator either of a spirit of altruism or one of determination likewise developing as a result of recent social events. Whatever its origin, it appears to be particularly amenable to further research.

TABLE 1. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH VOCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY MIRGRATION INTENT, MALE AND FEMALE

Migration intent	Male	Female	Total
	1	2	3
Yes	37.1 (251)	39.8 (347)	38.6 (598)
No	27.7 (217)	31.8 (214)	29.7 (431)
Total	32.7 (468)	36.7 (561)	34.9 (1029)

1 Chi-square significant beyond the .025 level.
2 Chi-square significant beyond the .05 level.
3 Chi-square significant beyond the .005 level.

TABLE 2. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH VOCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, INTELLIGENCE, RESIDENCE, AND RACE, MALE AND FEMALE

	Males	Females	Total
Socioeconomic status	1	1	2
Low	29.9 (381)	35.5 (470)	33.0 (851)
High	51.1 (45)	56.6 (53)	54.1 (98)
Intelligence	2	2	2
Low	22.8 (145)	31.4 (172)	27.4 (317)
Medium	37.4 (187)	32.4 (241)	34.6 (428)
High	62.7 (67)	65.2 (66)	63.9 (133)
Residence	3	1	2
Open country	28.4 (296)	31.7 (376)	30.2 (672)
Village	39.0 (82)	43.8 (89)	41.5 (171)
Town	37.9 (103)	47.1 (104)	42.5 (207)
Race	3	2	1
White	31.6 (291)	29.0 (328)	30.2 (619)
Negro	32.0 (197)	45.6 (252)	39.6 (449)

1 Chi-square significant beyond the .01 level.
2 Chi-square significant beyond the .001 level.
3 Chi-square not significant.

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, INTELLIGENCE, RESIDENCE, RACE, AND SEX BY MIGRATION INTENT

Migration intent	a. Socioeconomic status[1]		
	Low	High	N
Yes	90.0 (488)	10.0 (54)	542
No	90.0 (342)	10.0 (38)	380
Total	90.0 (830)	10.0 (92)	922

	b. Intelligence[2]			
	Low	Medium	High	N
Yes	37.1 (193)	45.2 (235)	17.7 (92)	520
No	36.4 (138)	52.0 (197)	11.6 (44)	379
Total	36.8 (331)	48.1 (432)	15.1 (136)	899

	c. Residence[3]			
	Town	Village	Open country	N
Yes	22.7 (134)	18.3 (108)	59.0 (348)	590
No	15.8 (67)	13.4 (57)	70.8 (301)	425
Total	19.8 (201)	16.3 (165)	63.9 (649)	1015

	d. Race[3]		
	White	Negro	N
Yes	51.5 (308)	48.5 (290)	598
No	66.6 (287)	33.4 (144)	431
Total	57.8 (595)	42.2 (434)	1029

	e. Sex[3]		
	Male	Female	N
Yes	42.0 (251)	58.0 (347)	598
No	50.4 (217)	49.6 (214)	431
Total	45.5 (468)	54.5 (561)	1029

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1 Chi-square not significant.

2 Chi-square significant beyond the .05 level.

3 Chi-square significant beyond the .001 level.

TABLE 4. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH VOCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY MIGRATION INTENT AND INTELLIGENCE, MALE AND FEMALE

Migration intent	Intelligence			
	Low	Medium	High	Total
Males	1	2	1	
Yes	24.1 (79)	46.7 (92)	64.1 (39)	41.4 (210)
No	21.9 (64)	28.9 (90)	59.3 (27)	30.9 (181)
Total	23.1 (143)	37.9 (182)	62.1 (66)	36.6 (391)
Females	1	1	1	
Yes	34.0 (97)	37.0 (135)	64.7 (51)	41.0 (283)
No	28.6 (70)	27.2 (103)	61.5 (13)	30.1 (186)
Total	31.7 (167)	32.8 (238)	64.1 (64)	36.7 (469)
Total	27.7 (310)	35.0 (420)	63.1 (130)	36.6 (860)

1 Chi-square not significant.
2 Chi-square significant beyond the .01 level.

TABLE 5. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH VOCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY MIGRATION INTENT AND RESIDENCE, MALE AND FEMALE

Migration intent	Residence			
	Open country	Village	Town	Total
Males	1	2	2	
Yes	38.5 (130)	44.7 (38)	40.6 (64)	40.1 (232)
No	23.7 (139)	44.1 (34)	42.9 (28)	29.9 (201)
Total	30.9 (269)	44.4 (72)	41.3 (92)	35.3 (433)
Females	3	2	2	
Yes	38.4 (203)	45.3 (64)	46.8 (62)	41.3 (329)
No	26.8 (153)	47.4 (19)	50.0 (36)	32.7 (208)
Total	33.4 (356)	45.8 (83)	48.0 (98)	38.0 (537)
Total	32.3 (625)	45.2 (155)	44.7 (190)	36.8 (970)

1 Chi-square significant beyond the .01 level.
2 Chi-square not significant.
3 Chi-square significant beyond the .025 level.

TABLE 6. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH VOCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY MIGRATION INTENT AND RACE, MALE AND FEMALE

Migration intent	Race White	 Negro	 Total
Males	[1]	[3]	
Yes	44.1 (127)	35.2 (105)	40.1 (232)
No	25.4 (138)	38.5 (65)	29.6 (203)
Total	34.3 (265)	36.5 (170)	35.2 (435)
Females	[2]	[3]	
Yes	35.5 (172)	47.0 (164)	41.1 (336)
No	22.7 (141)	52.2 (69)	32.4 (210)
Total	29.7 (313)	48.5 (233)	37.7 (546)
Total	31.8 (578)	43.4 (403)	36.6 (981)

1 Chi-square significant beyond the .005 level.
2 Chi-square significant beyond the .01 level.
3 Chi-square not significant.

TABLE 7. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY MIGRATION INTENT, MALE AND FEMALE

Migration intent	Male	Female	Total
	[1]	[2]	[2]
Yes	29.1 (251)	34.0 (347)	31.9 (598)
No	22.1 (217)	23.4 (214)	22.7 (431)
Total	25.9 (468)	30.0 (561)	28.1 (1,029)

1 Chi-square not significant.
2 Chi-square significant beyond the .005 level.

TABLE 8. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, INTELLIGENCE, RESIDENCE, AND RACE, MALE AND FEMALE

	Male	Female	Total
Socioeconomic status	[2]	[1]	[1]
Low	23.1 (381)	26.6 (470)	25.0 (851)
High	44.4 (45)	60.4 (53)	53.1 (98)
Total	25.4 (426)	30.0 (523)	27.9 (949)
Intelligence	[1]	[1]	[1]
Low	17.5 (154)	27.8 (176)	23.0 (330)
Medium	24.8 (198)	23.7 (236)	24.2 (434)
High	53.5 (71)	59.7 (67)	56.5 (138)
Total	27.0 (423)	30.3 (479)	28.7 (902)
Residence	[1]	[1]	[1]
Open country	19.3 (296)	24.7 (376)	22.3 (672)
Village	36.6 (82)	33.7 (89)	35.1 (171)
Town	35.9 (103)	44.2 (104)	40.1 (207)
Total	25.8 (481)	29.7 (569)	27.9 (1,050)
Race	[3]	[1]	[1]
White	21.3 (291)	20.1 (328)	20.7 (619)
Negro	32.0 (197)	41.7 (252)	37.4 (449)
Total	25.6 (488)	29.5 (580)	27.7 (1,068)

[1] Chi-square significant beyond the .001 level.
[2] Chi-square significant beyond the .01 level.
[3] Chi-square significant beyond the .02 level.

TABLE 9. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY MIGRATION INTENT AND INTELLIGENCE, MALE AND FEMALE

Migration intent	Intelligence			
	Low	Medium	High	Total
Males	[2]	[1]	[2]	
Yes	16.3 (86)	32.0 (97)	59.0 (39)	30.6 (222)
No	19.7 (66)	17.4 (92)	44.8 (29)	22.5 (187)
Total	17.8 (152)	24.9 (189)	52.9 (68)	26.9 (409)
Females	[2]	[3]	[2]	
Yes	31.6 (98)	28.6 (133)	62.8 (51)	35.8 (282)
No	25.4 (71)	18.2 (99)	46.2 (13)	23.0 (183)
Total	29.0 (169)	24.1 (232)	59.4 (64)	30.8 (465)
Total	23.7 (321)	24.5 (421)	56.1 (132)	29.0 (874)

[1] Chi-square significant beyond the .025 level.
[2] Chi-square not significant.
[3] Chi-square significant beyond the .05 level.

TABLE 10. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY MIGRATION INTENT AND RESIDENCE, MALE AND FEMALE

Migration intent	Residence			
	Open country	Village	Town	Total
Males	2	2	2	
Yes	22.6 (137)	40.0 (40)	36.2 (69)	29.3 (246)
No	15.6 (141)	37.8 (37)	35.5 (31)	22.5 (209)
Total	19.1 (278)	39.0 (77)	36.0 (100)	26.2 (455)
Females	1	2	2	
Yes	32.5 (203)	32.3 (65)	50.0 (60)	35.7 (328)
No	17.7 (153)	44.4 (18)	42.9 (35)	24.3 (206)
Total	26.1 (356)	34.9 (83)	47.4 (95)	31.3 (534)
Total	23.0 (634)	36.9 (160)	41.5 (195)	28.9 (989)

1 Chi-square significant beyond the .005 level.
2 Chi-square not significant.

TABLE 11. PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY MIGRATION INTENT AND RACE, MALE AND FEMALE

Migration intent	Race		
	White	Negro	Total
Males	2	3	
Yes	27.7 (130)	31.6 (117)	29.6 (247)
No	15.7 (140)	35.1 (74)	22.4 (214)
Total	21.5 (270)	33.0 (191)	26.3 (461)
Females	1	3	
Yes	28.1 (167)	42.3 (168)	35.2 (335)
No	12.3 (138)	47.1 (70)	24.0 (208)
Total	21.0 (305)	43.7 (238)	30.9 (543)
Total	21.2 (575)	38.9 (429)	28.8 (1,004)

1 Chi-square significant beyond the .005 level.
2 Chi-square significant beyond the .025 level.
3 Chi-square not significant.

CHANGES IN EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FROM SOPHOMORE YEAR TO SENIOR YEAR OF A STATE-WIDE SAMPLE OF SOUTH CAROLINA HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS*

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Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to compare the educational aspirations of a sample of students at two different times during their high school experience and to discover any differential rates of change in educational aspirations by sex and color of the students. Also, rates of change in educational aspiration are compared for students in schools of different size and in schools having different types of guidance programs.

Related Research

In recent years there has been a growing body of research relating to the educational aspirations and expectations of youth. A bibliography on educational aspirations and expectations compiled by Ohlendorf, Wages, and Kuvleskey included 323 titles (3). More recently, Kuvleskey and Jacob prepared an annotated bibliography of research reports dealing with educational status projections (1). There is a noticeable lack of longitudinal studies of either educational aspirations or expectations. This study will focus on the aspirational as opposed to the expectational aspects of educational status orientations of youth (1).

The Data

The data on which this analysis is based were collected as a part of an official project of the South Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station. This is a contributing project to Southern Regional Research Project S-61. The questionnaire was developed jointly by researchers from Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas. Data have been collected using this common questionnaire in all the above-named states but only South Carolina data are analyzed in this paper.

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*Paper presented at the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers meetings, Memphis, Tennessee, February, 1970. The research on which this report is based was done under South Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station Project H-762 which is a contributing project to Southern Regional Research Project S-61, Human Resource Development and Mobility in the Rural South.

Sampling:

In the other states participating in the regional study, purposive sampling techniques were used but in South Carolina a representative sample of all tenth-grade students in the state was drawn. It included all tenth-grade students in forty-two schools selected to be representative of all high schools in the state. The schools were stratified by size as measured by number of tenth-grade students in 1965-1966 and by color of students (predominantly white and nonwhite).

Interview Conditions:

Insofar as possible, the same interview techniques were used in all schools. Where possible, the questionnaire was administered to all the students in a particular school at the same time. Because of spatial limitations, it was necessary in some schools to meet tenth- or twelfth-grade English sections throughout the school day.

The students were first interviewed during the school year 1966-1967 when they were sophomores and then again in 1968-1969 when they were seniors. In neither case were follow-ups made of students who were absent on the day of the interview. Co-operation was voluntary but very few students failed to complete the questionnaires. The fact that a few of the students chose not to give their name and address resulted in inability to pair their questionnaires. Also, drop-outs and transfer students decreased the number of matched pairs.

Question:

The question on which this study is based appeared in the questionnaire as follows:

If you could have as much schooling as you desired, which of the following would you do? (Circle only one number):

1. Quit school right now.

2. Complete high school.

3. Complete a business, commercial, electronics, or some other technical program after finishing high school.

4. Graduate from a junior college (2 years).

5. Graduate from a college or university.

6. Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

Usable Questionnaires:

A total of 5,400 usable questionnaires were obtained from the sophomore contact and 4,346 from the senior contact. Of the latter, only 3,524 could be matched with the sophomore questionnaires and 27 of these failed to indicate either race or sex and therefore are not used in some of the analyses in this paper.

Analysis

Educational Aspirations:

The distribution of responses to the question concerning educational aspirations for both the sophomore and the senior contact is shown in Table 1. The most striking thing about these results is their similarity. Two areas of difference are noted. A slightly lower proportion of seniors than sophomores express an aspiration no higher than high school while a slightly higher proportion of seniors than sophomores indicate a desire to attend vocational or technical school after high school. Similarly, there was a slight decrease in the percentage of seniors aspiring to a four year college program and an increase in the proportion desiring to do graduate work.

It is interesting to note that the proportion of students expressing a desire to go to college was 63.3 when they were sophomores and 64.5 when they were seniors. These proportions are somewhat lower than those reported by Slocum in his study of educational aspirations and expectations of rural youth in the state of Washington (4). He found that 75 percent of boys and 67 percent of girls aspired to attend college at some level.

In a sample of rural youth in low-income counties in Texas, Ohlendorf found that 71 percent of the 96 negroes and 68 percent of the 143 whites in his sample expressed the desire to attend college (2). It should be remembered that both studies cited above were limited to rural youth while the sample on which this report is based included both rural and urban students.

Changes in Educational Aspirations By Sex of Students

The major purpose of this paper is to examine the extent and direction of change in educational aspirations while the students were in high school. Data were gathered on educational expectations also, but they will be analyzed later. It has already been noted that there was relatively little net change in educational aspirations of the students in the sample. A comparison of answers given by individual students at each of the two contacts yields a very different picture,

Table 1. Highest Educational Aspirations of South Carolina High School Students in Selected Schools, 1966-1967 and 1968-1969

Highest Educational Aspirations	Sophomores 1966-1967		Seniors 1968-1969	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Quit School Now	40	0.7	22	0.5
Complete High School	620	11.5	369	8.4
Voc. or Tech School	1,298	24.0	1,114	26.1
Junior College	360	6.7	313	7.2
Senior College	1,577	29.2	1,216	27.8
Graduate School	1,479	27.4	1,292	29.5
No Answer	26	0.5	20	0.5
TOTAL	5,400	100.0	4,346	100.0

however, (Table 2). Of the 3,497 students for whom we have identifiable data at each contact, 1,755 or slightly more than one-half indicated either a higher or a lower level of educational aspiration at the second contact. The proportion reporting increased aspirations (23.8) was slightly less than the proportion reporting decreased aspirations (26.4).

Of the 1,659 males in the sample, 26.5 percent reported increased aspirations and 22.4 percent reported decreased aspirations during their high school experience. Conversely, of the 1,838 females, 21.4 percent reported increased aspirations and 30.1 percent reported decreased educational aspirations.

Changes in Educational Aspirations by Color of Students:

A higher proportion of white students (51.9) than of nonwhite students (42.8) reported the same level of educational aspiration during both their sophomore and senior year (Table 3). The major difference by color of student was the 32.2 percent of the nonwhites but only 23.9 percent of the whites who reported a decrease in educational aspirations. No appreciable difference was noted in the proportion reporting an increase in aspirations.

Table 2. Changes in Educational Aspirations by Sex of Pupil from Sophomore Year (1966-1967) to Senior Year (1968-1969) of 3,497 High School Pupils in South Carolina.

Changes in Educational Aspirations	Males		Females		All Students	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Increased	440	26.5	391	21.3	831	23.8
No change	836	50.4	881	47.9	1,717	49.1
Decreased	371	22.4	553	30.1	924	26.4
No answer*	12	0.7	13	0.7	25	0.7
TOTAL	1,659	100.0	1,838	100.0	3,497	100.0

*Not included in Chi-square calculations.

$X^2 = 30.9305$ D.F. = 2 $P > .01$

Table 3. Changes in Educational Aspirations by Color of Pupil from Sophomore Year (1966-1967) to Senior Year (1968-1969) of 3497 High School Pupils in South Carolina.

Changes in Educational Aspirations	Whites		Nonwhites		All pupils	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Increased	573	23.7	258	23.9	831	23.8
No change	1,256	51.9	461	42.8	1,717	49.1
Decreased	577	23.9	347	32.2	924	26.4
No answer*	13	0.5	12	1.1	25	0.7
TOTAL	2,419	100.0	1,078	100.0	3,497	100.0

*Not included in Chi-square calculations.

$X^2 = 32.4163$ D.F. = 2 $P > .01$

Changes in Educational Aspirations of White Students by Sex:

Examination of the data in Table 4 reveals significant differences in the changes in educational aspirations levels by sex with the level remaining constant for 54.1 percent of the males but only for 49.9 percent of the females. Twenty-six percent of the males as compared to 21.3 percent of the females reported higher aspirations in their senior year. On the other hand, 19.3 percent of the males but only 28.2 percent of the females reported lower levels of educational aspirations at the second contact.

Degree of Change in Educational Aspirations

The degree of change in educational aspirations is not analyzed in this paper. However, the raw data is shown by color and sex of students in the Appendix Tables.

Table 4. Changes in Educational Aspirations from Sophomore Year (1966-1967) to Senior Year (1968-1969) of 2,419 White High School Pupils in South Carolina by Sex of Pupils.

Changes in Educational Aspirations	Male Pupils		Female Pupils		All White Pupils	
	Number	Precent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Increased	311	26.1	262	21.3	573	23.7
No change	643	54.1	613	49.9	1,256	51.9
Decreased	230	19.3	347	28.2	577	23.9
No answer*	6	0.5	7	0.6	13	0.5
TOTAL	1,184	100.0	1,229	100.0	2,419	100.0

*Not included in Chi-square calculations.

$X^2 = 28.0377$ D.F. = 2 $P > .01$

Changes in Educational Aspirations of Nonwhite Students by Sex

The same pattern of relationships was observed for nonwhite males and females as for white males and females (Table 5). The major exception to this is that a much higher proportion of nonwhite males than of white males had decreased their educational aspirations-- 30.1 and 19.3 respectively. It should also be noted that almost three out of five of the nonwhite pupils had changed their aspiration while only one of two white pupils reported such changes. The relationships shown in this table are not statistically significant at the .01 level.

Table 5. Changes in Educational Aspirations from Sophomore Year (1966-1967) to Senior Year (1968-1969) of 1,078 Nonwhite High School Pupils in South Carolina by Sex of Pupil

Changes in Educational Aspirations	Male Pupils Number	Male Pupils Percent	Female Pupils Number	Female Pupils Percent	All Nonwhite Pupils Number	All Nonwhite Pupils Percent
Increased	129	27.5	129	21.2	258	23.9
No change	193	41.2	268	44.0	461	42.8
Decreased	141	30.1	206	33.8	347	32.2
No answer*	6	1.2	6	1.0	12	1.1
TOTAL	469	100.0	609	100.0	1,078	100.0

*Not included in Chi-Square calculations.

$X^2 = 6.0960$ D.F. = 2 $P > .05$

A summary of the changes in aspiration by color and sex is shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Percentage Change in Educational Aspirations by Color and Sex From Sophomore Year (1966-1967) to Senior Year (1968-1969) of 3,497 High School Pupils in South Carolina

Changes in Educational Aspirations	Total			White			Nonwhite		
	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female
Increased	23.8	26.5	21.3	23.7	26.1	21.3	23.9	27.5	21.2
No change	49.1	50.4	48.9	51.9	54.1	49.9	42.8	41.2	44.0
Decreased	26.4	22.4	30.1	23.9	19.3	28.2	32.2	30.1	33.8
No Answer	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.6	1.1	1.2	1.0
All Students	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Size of School

The schools included in the study were divided into size groups based on their enrollment in the tenth-grade during the school year 1965-1966 as follows: (1) Small (fewer than 100 tenth-graders); (2) Medium (100-299 tenth-graders); and (3) Large (300 or more tenth-graders).

Examination of the data in Table 7 reveals that there is a relationship between changes in educational aspiration and size of school. As the size of school increased, the proportion of pupils reporting a change in educational aspirations decreased. Those pupils reporting an increase in educational aspirations decreased from 26.9 percent in small schools to 23.0 percent in large schools. Conversely, those pupils reporting a decrease in educational aspirations between their sophomore and senior years declined from 29.6 percent in small schools to 24.3 percent in large schools. The pupils reporting the same educational aspirations both times increased from 42.7 percent in small schools to 52.3 percent in large schools. The chi-square value indicates that these differences are statistically significant at the .01 level.

Table 7. Changes in Educational Aspirations from Sophomore Year (1966-1967) to Senior Year (1968-1969) of 3,524 High School Pupils in South Carolina by Size of High School.

Changes in Educational Aspirations	Small Schools		Medium Schools		Large Schools		All Schools	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Increased	152	26.9	341	23.7	348	23.0	841	23.9
No change	241	42.7	693	48.0	792	52.3	1,726	49.0
Decreased	167	29.6	397	27.5	368	24.3	932	26.4
No answer*	5	0.8	12	0.8	8	0.4	25	0.7
TOTAL	565	100.0	1,443	100.0	1,516	100.0	3,524	100.0

*Not included in Chi-square calculations.

$X^2 = 16.3095$ D.F. = 4 P .01

GUIDANCE COUNSELING

High school guidance programs are classified by the South Carolina State Department of Education into three categories. First are those schools having no guidance counselors. The second classification includes schools having teacher-counselors doing counseling work while the third includes those schools having certified counselors. The sample schools included in this study were divided into these three classifications based on information from the State Department of Education for the school year 1965-1966.

It seems logical to assume that there would be a direct relationship between the extent of guidance services in a secondary school and the number of pupils who change their educational aspirations during their high school experience. Analysis of the data in Table 8 reveals that the opposite is true of the pupils included in the sample. Almost one-third of the 183 pupils in schools having no counselors increased their educational aspirations. Less than one-fourth of the 2,428 pupils in schools having certified counselors reported such increases. The proportion of pupils reporting no change in educational aspirations increased from 42.6 percent in schools having no counselors to 51.7 percent in those with certified counselors. The chi-square test indicated that the relationships shown in Table 8 are statistically significant at the .01 level.

Table 8. Changes in Educational Aspirations from Sophomore Year (1966-1967) of 3,524 High School Pupils in South Carolina by Guidance Classification of High School.

Changes in Educational Aspirations	Guidance Classification of Schools							
	No Counselors		Teacher Counselors		Certified Counselors		All Schools	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Increased	57	31.2	235	25.7	549	22.6	841	23.9
No change	78	42.6	393	43.0	1,255	51.7	932	49.0
Decreased	47	25.7	279	30.6	606	25.0	1,726	26.4
No answer*	1	0.5	6	0.7	18	0.7	25	0.7
TOTAL	183	100.0	913	100.0	2,428	100.0	3,524	100.0

*Not included in Chi-square calculations.

$X^2 = 26.6174$ D.F. = 4 $P > .01$

There are several possible explanations for the decreased proportion of changes in aspirations in the schools with certified counselors. One is that these schools are larger in size and are located in areas where the students come from families having higher socio-economic levels than is the case in the smaller schools. It is possible that this higher socio-economic status of the families might lead to earlier establishment of a stable pattern of aspirations. Further investigation would be necessary to test this hypothesis. Analysis of data on changes in educational expectations might also be revealing on this point.

Implications

In general the findings reported here are in accord with those reported from other studies with respect to the proportion of pupils aspiring to various levels of educational attainment. Some differences in these levels by sex and color of pupils are noted. No appreciable changes in level of educational aspiration were observed for the total sample between their sophomore and senior year.

Possibly the most important implication of this report lies in the fact that slightly more than one-half of the pupils for whom data were available from both contacts reported changes in their educational aspiration. More importantly, the changes were almost equally divided between those who reported increased aspirations and those who reported decreases in their aspirations. This instability of reported aspirations at the sophomore and senior level indicates that caution should be used in utilizing data on aspiration based on only one contact.

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Appendix Table 1. Educational Aspirations of 3,497 High School Pupils in South Carolina During Sophomore Year (1966-1967) and Senior Year (1968-1969)

Sophomore Year (1966-1967)	Senior Year (1968-1969)							
	Quit Now	High School	Voc School	Junior College	4-Year College	Grad School	No Answer	TOTAL
Quit school	1	3	2	1	1	-	-	8
High School	2	111	111	25	29	14	3	295
Voc or Tech School	4	78	417	54	123	72	2	750
Junior College	1	20	75	44	58	24	1	223
4-Year College	2	37	189	86	509	314	6	1,143
Grad School	2	30	110	39	249	635	2	1,067
No answer	-	1	4	2	3	1	-	11
TOTAL	12	280	908	251	972	1,060	14	3,497

Appendix Table 2. Educational Aspirations of 1,659 Male High School Pupils in South Carolina During Sophomore Year (1966-1967) and Senior Year (1968-1969)

	Senior Year (1968-1969)							
Sophomore Year (1966-1967)	Quit Now	High School	Voc School	Junior College	4-Year College	Grad School	No Answer	TOTAL
Quit school	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	2
High School	2	43	54	13	16	6	1	135
Voc or Tech School	-	26	174	16	72	46	1	335
Junior College	-	7	32	19	27	15	1	101
4-Year College	-	18	76	25	258	173	2	552
Grad School	1	17	45	5	117	342	-	527
No Answer	-	1	2	1	2	1	-	7
TOTAL	3	112	384	79	493	583	5	1,659

Appendix Table 3. Educational Aspirations of 1,838 Female High School Pupils in South Carolina During Sophomore Year (1966-1967) and Senior Year (1968-1969)

	Senior Year (1968-1969)							
Sophomore Year (1966-1967)	Quit Now	High School	Voc School	Junior College	4-Year College	Grad School	No Answer	TOTAL
Quit School	1	3	1	1	-	-	-	6
High School	-	68	57	12	13	8	2	160
Voc or Tech School	4	52	243	38	51	26	1	415
Junior College	1	13	43	25	31	9	-	122
4-Year College	2	19	113	61	251	141	4	591
Grad School	1	13	65	34	132	293	2	540
No Answer	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	4
TOTAL	9	168	524	172	479	477	9	1,838

Appendix Table 4. Educational Aspirations of 2,419 White High School Pupils in South Carolina during Sophomore Year (1966-1967) and Senior Year (1968-1969)

Sophomore Year (1966-1967)	Senior Year (1968-1969)							
	Quit Now	High School	Voc School	Junior College	4-Year College	Grad School	No Answer	TOTAL
Quit School	1	3	2	1	1	-	-	8
High School	2	70	70	10	17	4	1	174
Voc or Tech School	4	63	272	36	83	38	1	497
Junior College	-	14	46	31	43	17	-	151
4-Year College	2	25	127	61	431	248	3	897
Grad School	2	12	42	15	162	451	1	685
No Answer	-	1	2	1	2	1	-	7
TOTAL	11	188	561	155	739	759	6	2,419

Appendix Table 5. Educational Aspirations of 1078 Nonwhite High School Pupils in South Carolina During Sophomore Year (1966-1967) and Senior Year (1968-1969)

Educational Aspirations When Sophomores	Senior Year (1968-1969)							
	Quit Now	High School	Voc School	Junior College	4-Year College	Grad School	No Answer	TOTAL
Quit School Now	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Finish High School	-	41	41	15	12	10	2	121
Voc or Tech School	-	15	145	18	40	34	1	253
Junior College	1	6	29	13	15	7	1	72
4-Year College	-	12	62	25	78	66	3	246
Graduate School	-	18	68	24	87	184	1	382
No Answer	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	4
TOTAL	1	92	347	96	233	301	8	1078

Occupational Goal Deflection Among College Students Majoring in Agriculture*

by

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The Problem

The objective of this research was to investigate the nature and extent of anticipatory occupational goal deflection among a sample of college students majoring in agricultural courses. Anticipatory Occupational Goal Deflection (hereafter referred to as AOGD) refers to the situation where a student's occupational aspirations differ from his occupational expectations. More specifically the objectives were: (1) to classify the occupational aspirations and expectations of the students utilizing Super's Three-Dimensional Occupational Classification; (2) to determine the type and extent of AOGD as measured by the Three-Dimensional Classification; (3) to investigate the relationship between AOGD and the student's academic performance in college; and (4) to investigate the relationship between AOGD and his family's socio-economic status.

Aspirations, Expectations and Deflections

The study of occupational aspirations, expectations and deflections initially grew out of attempts to construct general theories of occupational development. The general research effort spans the disciplines of economics, psychology, education, social work, guidance, as well as, sociology. As a result of the diversity of interest in occupational development, the researcher is often bewildered by the vast array of confusing and overlapping concepts presently popular in the literature. Because of the lack of agreement among "even" sociologists on terminology and perhaps conceptual meanings, a minimum requirement in any study of occupational choice is a set of definitions of the basic concepts that delineate how various terms

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*I would like to express my appreciation to Gerald Windham, Richard Sea, Calvin Vanlandingham and E. W. Rallings for their helpful suggestions. The responsibility for any errors is entirely my own.

are being used.[1]

Occupational Choice: In the present study, occupational choice refers to the long run process of occupational role selection resulting in the adult attainment of an occupational status. This is essentially the same meaning as that used in early studies by Ginzberg (1951). Thus, occupational choice is a rather general notion under which different dimensions of choice can be organized.[2] The first dimension, that of process or development, is made explicit. Occupational choice is thought to start relatively early in a child's life and continues into the adult years. The nature of the choice at any given period in the choice process is seen as a function of prior, as well as, current circumstances-the cumulative aspect of choice development. Thus, stages of occupational choice are often discussed (See Ginzberg, 1951 and Super, 1953). Second, at each given stage a set of components can be delineated, e.g., pool of occupational knowledge, goal-centering, mean-centering, and so on. Matters, such as (1) the type and number of stages, (2) breaking points and (3) key components in each stage that will have the greatest utility in understanding occupational development, are open questions.

Occupational Aspirations: The concept of occupational aspirations refers to the students' choice of a particular occupation (assuming no obstacles) as the one he would most like to follow as a career (Glick, 1962). Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966), who use almost an identical definition, delineate three components of aspiration: (1) a chooser or selector element: (2) a wanting or desiring element and (3) an occupational goal element. Occupational aspirations in the present study were operationally determined by the response to the following question.

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[1] Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966) have made a significant contribution to the study of occupational choice by pointing to the lack of clear conceptualization and semantic confusion common in many of the occupational choice studies.

[2] There is a considerable lack of consensus with the use of the "occupational choice" concept, for example, Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966) perfer to equate occupational choice with occupational aspirations in that occupational choice is used " to mean only the psychological preferences or desires that the individual has regarding work statuses."

> If there were no obstacles in your way, what occupation would you most like to follow as a career? Your choice implies that you would be following this career as your life work. Please be as specific as possible in describing the occupation. Avoid using such general terms as physician or mathematician. Rather, use answers such as "physician with private practice, specializing in internal medicine" or "mathematician working for the federal government or development of missiles."[3]

Occupational Expectations: The concept of occupational expectation, on the other hand, refers to the student's choice of a particular occupation (realizing that for some there are great obstacles in the way) that the student realistically believed he will follow as a career. Again following the lead of Kuvlesky and Bealer, the concept can be broken down into three components: (1) a chooser or selector, (2) an expectation or anticipation element, and (3) an occupational role. One distinguishing characteristic between the two concepts is the nature of the orientation toward the selected occupation. An occupational aspiration, by definition, is a favorable or positive orientation toward the occupational goal. The orientation element of the occupational expectation may be either positive or negative, i.e., a student may view the occupation he expects to enter as either being desirable or undesirable. The following question was used to obtain expectation measures.

> Realizing that for some of us there are great obstacles in the way of our entering certain careers, what occupation do you realistically believe that you will follow as a career? Your choice implies that you actually will follow this career as your life work. Please be as specific as possible in describing the occupation. Avoid using such general terms as physician or mathematician. Rather, use answers such as "physician with private practice specializing in internal medicine" or mathematician working for the federal government on missile development."

Anticipatory Occupational Goal Deflection: The foregoing discussion demonstrates that occupational aspirations and expectations can be distinguished on both conceptual and operational levels. The AOGD concept (sometimes referred to as Anticipated Occupational Frustration: Glick, 1963) is derived from the relationship between aspirations and expectations, i.e., some students have equivalent aspirations and expectations while others have aspirations that differ from their expectations. Studies by Wright and Kuvlesky (1968), and Picou (1969) represent recent research efforts employing this concept. These studies have typically utilized a one dimensional criterion of differentiation, i.e., AOGD has been treated as an hierarchical or status phenomenon. Such studies usually conceptualize AOGD in the following manner (see Picou, 1969): (1) when there is no status differences between aspirations and expectations, AOGD is zero; (2) negative AOGD, when a person's expectations are lower than his aspirations; (3) positive AOGD, when a person's expectations are higher than his aspirations; and (4) the span or range of differences in aspirations and expectations is viewed as a function of occupational prestige levels.

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[3] Both the aspiration and expectation questions were developed by Glick (1963)

The position taken in this report is that there is utility in viewing AOGD as multi-dimensional phenomenon considering situses, as well as, the status dimension. Glick (1962) suggests that AOGD be differentiated using a three-dimensional classification: (1) Level (status) - a vertical measure based on the prestige associated with the occupation, the size of the income typically earned, and the amount of education earned; (2) Field - a horizontal (situs) dimension based on the type of work activity involved in the occupation; and (3) Enterprise - a horizonal (situs) dimension based on the type of business, industry or professional practice. Thus, we have classification scheme that allows the researcher to differentiation between aspirations and expectations (1) in terms of the number of dimensions on which AOGD occurs, and (2) to determine which dimension is dominant for a particular subpopulation, as well as, make the types of distinctions that have been discussed using only the status dimension.[4]

Conceptual Model

The conceptual distinction between occupation aspirations and expectations (See: Blau et al, 1956; Stephenson, 1957; Glick, 1963; and Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966) lead logically to the conceptualization and operationalization of the variable Kuvlesky and Bealer termed "Anticipatory Goal Deflection." In the various studies (with the possible exception of Glicks) the primary theoretical interest has been with aspiration and expectation levels. The concept of AOGD has developed largely as a "interesting notion" without any attempt at the theoretical linkage between it and sets of explanatory variables.

As a theoretical point of departure, the research has chosen to construct a very simple explanatory model, recognizing full well, that the model will probably have a low degree of utility and that considerable reformulation will most likely be needed. This model includes a set of assumptions dealing with the nature of aspiration, striving, perception of limiting factors, and expectations.

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[4] There has been little theoretical concern with the number and kinds of dimensions that would have the greatest utility in delineating AOGD. The present approach is viewed as an attempt in that direction and is most likely inadequate for many purposes.

First, it was assumed that in present day U.S., a set of values related to success and achievement, largely as a function of mass culture, exert considerable influence toward the development of high level aspirations. Thus, it is being assumpted that relatively high level occupational aspirations are constant - especially among middle and upper class youth. Merton (1957: 132-138) refers to an "aspirational frame of reference" where certain goals and other elements are considered as "legitimate objectives for all or for diversly located members of society." Futhermore, "from diverse sources there flows a continuous pressure to retain high goals." Again in Mertons terms "the cultural manifesto is clear: one must not lessen his goals, for not failure, but low aim is crime."

Second, expectations not only reflect the cultural axiom of success but also includes a component of evaluation made by an individual in terms of his definition of his ability and the structural opportunities open to him. Curry (1969) suggests that the "same institution imparting values also provide definitions from which the individual assesses his potential to attain his aspirations. Furthermore, according to Curry when assessment is negative," deflection tends to occur and some expectation still within the range of acceptable occupational values develop as a substitute."

Third, the individuals assessement of his potential or chances for attainment are a function of his perception of blocks. A partial listing of possible blocks include such factors as: (1) lower socio-economic status, (2) race, (3) intelligence, (4) school performance, (5) community opportunities and (6) educational opportunities. Therefore, it would follow that the AOGD concept would be linked to the "lower states" of these variables.

The Data

The data were obtained from interviews with undergraduates enrolled in the College of Agiculture at Mississippi State University during the spring of 1965 (Cosby, 1966). A simple random sample of 147 males was used. Checks for errors in sampling, interviewing, data processing, and statistical computation were made at various stages in the analysis.

The interview schedule consisted of two parts: (1) a schedule developed by Glick (1963) to obtain responses that allow measurement of occupational aspirations, expectations, values and AOGD and (2) a supplement to the above schedule designed to measure socio-economic factors. The office of the Dean of the College of Agriculture served as an additional source of information providing data for academic performance.

The Extent of AOGD

Before considering relationships, it seems advantageous to first examine the extent and type of AOGD, as determined by the three dimensional classification. Concerns here are (1) the number and percent of students who had equivalent aspirations and expectations; (2) the number who experienced AOGD and (3) the number of unclassifiables. An examination of Table 1 reveals that approximately 63% of the total sample (65% when unclassifiables were omitted) had equivalent aspirations and expectations and that about 33% (35% after unclassifiable were omitted) experienced AOGD.

Table 1. Distribution for Each Type of Choice

No AOGD	N=90	62.8%
AOGD..	N=49	33.1%
Unclassifiables[a]...........................	N=6	4.1%

The Number of Dimensions of Differentiation

The three-dimensional classification allows two occupations to be differentiated on either three, two, one or no dimensions. The number of dimensions of differentiation is thought to be a rough indication of the magnitude of AOGD. It is interesting to note that the majority of the AOGD occurred along more than one dimension, e.g., about 55% of the students choices differ on two dimensions and approximately 12% differed on three dimensions.

Table 2. The Number of Dimensions of Differentiation for Students with AOGD

One Dimension	N=16	32.7%
Two Dimensions	N=27	55.1%
Three Dimensions	N= 6	12.2%
Total	N=49	100.0%

AOGD by Type of Dimension

As shown in Table 3, Forty-two students (85.7%) who were judged to have AOGD, had choices that differed on the enterprise dimension; Thirty (61.2%) different on the field dimension; and only Sixteen (32.1%) different on the level dimension. It is also interesting to note that of the sixteen students whose AOGD differed on the level dimension, twelve of the students' choices differed on, at least, one other dimension-thus the level dimension alone accounted for only four of the differences.

Table 3. AOGD by Type of Dimension

Level Dimension	N=16	32.7%
Field Dimension	N=30	61.2%
Enterprise Dimension	N=42	85.7%

[a] The N's do not sum to equal the AOGD sample (N) of 49 because many of the students choices differed on more than one dimension.

AOGD and Measures of Academic Performance

The first hypothesis was that Academic performance in college would be related to AOGD. More specifically, AOGD was expected to be associated with measures indicating lower levels of academic performance. Three measures of academic performances were used.

College Class: College class was considered a measure of academic performance in that (1) more years of education reflect a resistance to "dropping out," (2) more years of education indicate that the student has the ability to meet the various minimum educational requirements, and (3) more years of education reflect the relative nearness of completion of training.

Grade Point Standing: Grade point standing scores were obtained from the office of the Dean of the College of Agriculture. The grades had been tabulated using a 3-point system (A=3, B=2, C=1, D=0 and F=0). For purposes of analysis, the scores were divided into three categories: High - GPS 2.0; Medium - 2.0 GPS 1.0; and Low GPS 1.0.

Relative Class Training: It was noted in determining grade point standing that the mean academic scores by college class increased as one moved from the freshman to the senior class, i.e., the seniors had the highest averages, the juniors next and so on. This resulted in proportionately larger numbers of upperclassmen in the high grade point standing category. It was felt that a measure of relative standing within each class would be more desirable. Relative class standing in quartile form was computed using grade point scores within class groupings.

Table 4. AOGD and Measures of Academic Performance.[a]

Academic Performance Variable	df	X^2	C^b	Probability
College Class	3	3.202	---	$\Pr\left[C^*=0\right] > .05$
Grade Point Standing	2	.342	---	$\Pr\left[C^*=0\right] > .05$
Relative Class Standing	3	3.411	---	$\Pr\left[C^*=0\right] > .05$

[a] The entire table for the relationship between AOGD and each of the three Academic Performance variables can be found in Appendix B.

[b] Since the X^2 values were not statistically significant, contingency coefficients were not computed.

Statistically significant relationships were not observed for any of the tests relating academic performance to AOGD. The probability of these students experiencing or not experiencing AOGD, was not found to be associated with either college class, grade point standing or relative grade point standing.

Socio-economic Status and AOGD

The second hypothesis considered was that lower levels of socio-economic status would be associated with AOGD. Four measures of socio-economic status were used.

Level of Father's Occupation: The responses to the father's occupation question were classified according to the level dimension of the three-dimension classification scheme. If the father's occupation was classified in either of the three professional and managerial categories, it was considered to be in a high state. If the father's occupation was classified in either the skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled categories, the occupation was considered to be in a low state.

Father's Occupation: The responses to father's occupation question were classified according to the three-dimensional occupational classification. The responses which fell into the three professional and managerial categories were considered to be in the high state. The responses which fell into the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled categories were considered to represent the low state of the variable.

Father's Income: Responses were grouped in the following manner for analysis. Incomes of 6000 dollars or more were considered to be the high state of the variable. Incomes of less than 5000 dollars constituted the low state of the variable. There was a relatively large number (16) of students who failed to respond to this question.

Father's Education: Father's education was an index of the amount of formal education. The high state of father's education consisted of responses of college graduate, graduate of business course, professional courses, and junior college graduates, Other responses were categorized as the low state.

Size of Farm: Since the students in this study were majoring in agriculture and the majority had come from farm family backgrounds, the size of farm was chosen as an additional measure of socio-economic status. Of the 142 students in the sample, only 38 came from families that did not own farms. These 38 (non-farm) students were omitted from this phase of the analysis. Farm size of over 100 acres was considered to be the high state of this variable and farm sizes of 100 acres or less was considered to be the low state.

Size of Farm: Since the students in this study were majoring in agriculture and the majority had come from farm family backgrounds, the size of farm was chosen as an additional measure of socio-economic measures. In each case, a higher proportion of student in the low states experienced AOGD. Also, the magnitude of the differences in proportion between the high and low states of the four variables was relatively large-ranging from -.36 for father's occupation to -.18 for father's income. In each of the four tests, AOGD was found to be associated with lower level socio-economic status.

Table 5. The Proportion of Students Who Experienced AOGD With Respect to Four Socio-Economic Status Measures[a]

Socio-Economic Measure	N	State		Difference
		High	Low	
Level of Father's Occupation	(141)	.27	.63	-.36
Level of Father's Income	(126)	.25	.43	-.18
Level of Father's Education	(141)	.16	.39	-.23
Farm Size	(104)	.29	.53	-.24

[a] See Appendix B for Tables for each relationship

As judged by Chi-square, statistically significant differences were observed between the deflection variable and the states of each of the four socio-economic measures. A standardized contingency coefficients (C-max) was calculated for each relationship. These values ranged from .40 for father's occupation to .28 for father's income. (See table 6)

Table 6. AOGD and Measures of Socio-Economic Status

Socio-Economic Variable	d.f.	X^2	C-Max	Probability
Father's Occupation	1	12.408	.40	Pr $\left[C^*_{max}=0\right] < .05$.
Father's Income	1	4.990	.28	Pr $\left[C^*_{max}=0\right] < .05$
Father's Education	1	6.908	.31	Pr $\left[C^*_{max}=0\right] < .05$
Size of Farm	1	5.389	.31	Pr $\left[C^*_{max}=0\right] < .05$

Findings

(1) The majority (63%) of the Agricultural majors expected to enter the same occupation that they aspired or desired to enter. About 33% were classified as experiencing AOGD and about 4% could not be classified. (Table 1)

(2) Using the Three Dimensional Occupational Classification, the majority (67%) of the students with AOGD had expectations that differed from their aspirations on more than one dimension. This finding supports the position that considerable utility can be gained from treating AOGD as a multi-dimensional phenomenon rather than as only a function of status. (Table 2)

(3) About 86% of the students with AOGD had choices that differed on the Enterprise dimension; 61% had choices that differed on the Field dimension and only 33% had choices that differed on the Level (status) dimension. Thus, the level or status dimension rank third in the delineation of AOGD thus giving further support for the argument for treating AOGD as multi-dimensional phenomenon. (Table 3)

(4) No relationship was observed between AOGD and three measures of academic performance (College class, Grade point standing, and Relative class standing). (Table 4).

(5) Statistically significant relationships were observed between AOGD and four measures of socio-economic status (father's occupation, father's income, father's

education and size of farm). In each test, AOGD was linked to the lower states of socio-economic status. Measures of association ranged from .40 to .28.

Discussion

In drawing conclusions or implications from this research, one should be well aware of the limited nature of any generalization that can be made from such a restricted sample. Certainly, it is questionable to generalize to other youth population on the basis on findings obtained in a study of college students majoring in agriculture. The content of the choice process among agricultural majors has some unique aspects when compared to other youth-especially in relation to the aspiration to farm. The following discussion is made keeping this limitation of restricted sample in mind.

The findings point to the advantages of treating AOGD as a multi-dimensional phenomenon as compared to treating it as only a status phenomenon. First, when AOGD was observed, differentiation tended to occur on more than one dimension (See Tables 2 and 3). Second, the status or level dimension ranked third among the three dimensions in the differentiation indicating that AOGD tended to occur within high status goal-levels. The findings, as well as, the general approach represent a marked departure from the usual usage of AOGD. Of course, the utility of this approach can be better evaluated when it is used with a broader sample.

As was stated earlier, a simple conceptual model was formulated using two general assumptions. First, it was assumed that high level aspirations are constant across the population and second that expectations are variable according to the perception of limiting factors (a function of actual disparity). Thus, AOGD was expected to be associated with indicators of disparity. This model was partially supported. Statistically significant relationships in the expected direction were observed between AOGD and four measures of socio-economic status. However, the three tests relating AOGD to academic performance failed to reveal any association.

Appendix A

Level

1. Professional and Managerial, higher

Lawyers, doctors, dentists, engineers, judges, high-school superintendents, veterinarians, ministers (graduate from divinity school), chemists, etc., with post graduate training, college faculty members (with graduate degrees), architects. Owners or managers of businesses valued at $75,000 and over. Regional and divisional managers of large financial and industrial enterprises. Certified public accountants. Gentlemen farmers (1,000 acres or more). Career officers, armed forces (major of lieutenant commander through general or admiral).

2. Professional and Managerial, regular

High-school teachers and principals, college faculty (without) graduate degrees), trained nurses, chiropodists, chiropractors, undertakers, ministers (some training), newspaper editors, librarian (graduate). Owners or managers of businesses valued at $20,000 to $75,000. Assistant managers and office and department managers of large businesses, assistants to executives, etc. Accountants, salesmen of real estate, of insurance, postmasters. Large farm owners (999-500 acres). Career officers, armed forces (below major or lieutenant commander). Territorial or assistant territorial sales managers for agricultural chemical companies, etc., managers of farmers' cooperatives. Government extension workers.

3. Semi-Professional and Managerial, lower

Social workers, grade-school teachers, optometrists, librarians (not graduate), undertakers' assistants, ministers (no training). Owners and managers of businesses valued at less than $20,000. All minor officials of businesses. Auto salesmen, bank clerks and cashiers, postal clerks, secretaries to executives, supervisors of railroad, telephone, etc., justices of the peace. Contractors. Farm managers, herdsmen on large dairy or beef farms. Career non-commissioned officers, armed forces. Salesmen for agricultural companies, etc. Representatives of farmers' cooperatives, farm owners (499-100 acres).

4. Skilled

Stenographers, bookkeepers, rural mail clerks, railroad ticket agents, sales people in dry goods store, etc. Factory foremen, electricians, plumbers, carpenters, watchmakers, etc. Dry cleaners, butchers, sheriffs, railroad engineers and conductors. Assistant farm managers, assistant herdsmen, farm owners (less than 100 acres).

5. Semi-skilled

Dimestore clerks, hardware salesmen, beauty operators, telephone operators, apprentices to skilled workers, timekeepers, linemen, telephone, telegraph, or radio repairmen. Barbers, firemen, butchers' apprentices, practical nurses, policemen, seamstresses, cooks in restaurants, bartenders, tenant farmers.

6. Unskilled

Moulders, all semi-skilled workers, assistants to skilled workers. Baggage men, night policemen and watchmen, taxi and truck drivers, gas station attendants, waitresses in restaurants. Small tenant farmers and migrant farm laborers. Heavy labor, migrant work, odd job men, miners. Janitors, scrubwomen, newsboys.

Field

1. Outdoor and Physical Activities

Farm managers, working farm owners, landscapers, athletic coaches, armed forces (pilot, navy-fleet, infantry).

2. Social and Personal Services Activities

Social workers, teachers, ministers, personnel workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, practicing physicians, dentists, veterinarians, agricultural extension consulting workers, 4-H agents.

3. Persuasive Business and Business Contact Activities

Sales managers, salesmen, buyers, public relations workers.

4. Administrative and Administrative Control Activities

Executives, business management workers, bankers, business personnel, secretaries, clerical workers, armed forces (quarter-master, etc.).

5. Research and Development Activities

Research scientists, physicians, etc., primarily engaged in research work, quality control workers, food and drug inspectors, agricultural extension research workers.

6. Humanistic Activities

Archeologists, interpretors of the arts, librarians, editors, art critics, book reviewers.

7. Fine Arts Activities

Creative artists, sculptors, painters, writers, architects.

8. Commercial Arts Activities

Designers, interior decorators, writers for commercial magazines, landscape designers.

Enterprise

1. Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries

Farming, landscaping, fishing, etc. Agricultural production.

2. Mining

Metal mining, coal mining, crude petroleum and natural gas extraction, non-metallic mining and quarrying.

3. Construction

Building and construction industries.

4. Manufacturing and Processing

Durable goods, such as: lumber and wood products, stone and clay, metal, machinery, electrical equipment, transportation equipment, professional and photographic equipment, watches.

Non-durable goods, such as: food and kindred products (meat products, dairy products, canning and preserving fruits, etc., grain mill products, bakery products, confectionary and related products, beverage products, food preparations, etc.), tobacco manufacture, textile mill products, apparel products, paper products, printing products, chemical and allied products, petroleum and coal products, rubber and plastic products, leather and leather products, etc.

5. Transportation, Communication, and Other Public Utilities

Railroads, taxis, trucking, warehouse storage, water transportportation, air transportation, petroleum and gas lines, radio broadcasting, television, telephone, telegraph, electric and power, gas and steam supply systems, electric-gas utilities, water supply, sanitary services.

6. Wholesales and Retail Trade

Marketing and distribution (sales) of such items as: automobiles, drugs, chemicals and allies products, dry goods and apparel, food and related products, farm products, machinery, supplies, etc.

7. Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate

Banking and credit agencies, security and commodity brokerage and investment companies, insurance, and real estate.

8. Business and Repair Services

Advertising, automobile repair services and garages, miscellaneous repair services, miscellaneous business services.

9. Personal Services

Private households, hotels and lodging places, laundering, cleaning and dyeing services, dressmaking shops, shoe repair shops, barber and beauty shops, miscellaneous personal services.

10. Entertainment and Recreation Services

Theaters and motion pictures, bowling alleys, and billiard and pool parlors, coaching, etc.

11. Professional and Related Services

Medical and other health services, hospitals, legal services, educational services, welfare and religious services, non-profit membership organizations, engineering and architectural services, accounting, auditing, and bookkeeping services, miscellaneous professional and related services.

12. Public Administration (Government)

Postal services, federal public administration, state public administration, local public administration. Employment by federal government, state government, local government.

Appendix B

Table 1. College Class and AOGD

	Freshman		Sophomore		Junior		Senior	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No-AOGD	26	72.2	11	50.0	28	65.1	28	68.3
AOGD	10	27.8	11	50.0	15	34.9	13	31.7
Total	36	100.0	22	100.0	43	100.0	41	100.0

N= 142 $X^2 = 3.202$ d.f. = 3 $P > .05$

Table 2. Grade-Point Standing and AOGD

	Grade Point Standing					
	High		Medium		Low	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
No-AOGD	9	60.0	57	65.5	26	68.4
AOGD	6	40.0	30	34.5	12	31.6
Total	15	100.0	87	100.0	38	100.0

N = 140 $X^2 = .342$ d.f. = 2 $P > .05$

[a] The N for this table is 140 because the grade point standing could not be obtained for two of the students in the sample. The assumed reason for this lack of data was that these students had just entered the university and had not yet received any grades.

Table 3. AOGD and Relative Class Standing

	Quartiles							
	0 - 25		26 - 50		51 - 75		76 - 100	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No AOGD	21	65.6	23	71.9	20	54.1	28	71.8
AOGD	11	34.4	9	28.1	17	45.9	11	28.2
Total[a]	32	100.0	32	100.0	37	100.0	39	100.0

N = 140 $X^2 = 3.411$ d.f. = 3 $P_r > .05$

[a] Two individuals were omitted for lack of information about their relative class standing.

Table 4. AOGD and Level of Father's Occupation.

	Level of Father's Occupation			
	High		Low	
Group	N	%	N	%
No AOGD	83	72.8	10	37.0
AOGD	31	27.2	17	63.0
Total[a]	114	100.0	27	100.0

N = 141 $X^2 = 12.408$ d.f. = 1 $P_r < .05$

[a] One case of no information

Table 5. AOGD and Level of Father's Income

	Level of Father's Income			
	High		Low	
	N	%	N	%
No AOGD	55	75.3	30	56.6
AOGD	18	24.7	23	43.4
Total	73	100.0	53	100.0

N = 126 $X^2 = 4.990$ d.f. = 1 $P_r < .05$

C-max = .276

[a]There were sixteen cases of no information

Table 6. AOGD and Level of Father's Education

	Level of Father's Education			
	High		Low	
	N	%	N	%
No AOGD	27	84.4	66	60.6
AOGD	6	15.6	43	39.4
Total	32	100.0	109	100.0

N = 141 $X^2 = 6.908$ d.f. = 1 $P < .05$

C-max = 3.06

[a]One case of no information

Table 7. AOGD and Size of Farm

	Size of Farm			
	Over 100 Acres		100 Acres or Less	
	N	%	N	%
No AOGD	62	71.3	8	47.1
AOGD	25	28.7	9	52.9
Total[a]	87	100.0	17	100.0

N = 104 $X^2 = 5.389$ d.f. = 1 $P < .05$

C = .222 Cs = .314

[a] Thirty-eight of the students' families did not own farms and were omitted from the test.

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THE PROSPECTS FOR NEW COMMUNITIES

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INTRODUCTION

The concept of new communities and the resultant process of population redistribution may be based upon the assumption that population density in the large metropolitan areas of the United States should not increase and that population density in the central cities of our present metropolitan areas is problematic. Some of the frequently emphasized conditions in our central cities center around congestion and a complex array of social problems. No concensus exists, however, as to what should be done about these problematics. Four alternative notions shall be listed in the following paragraphs with respect to the future of metropolitan centers in America.

One alternative is to not do anything or ignore density, congestion, and other problems of our metropolitan cities, much as we have in the past. This is not a solution because the evidence is clear as to the outcome of such a policy; i.e., the gradual deterioration of social organizational consistencies.

A second alternative, much the opposite of the first is that of a massive and costly rehabilitation program for our metropolitan cities, concentrating on housing, physical environment, employment, education, welfare, political institutions, political representation, etc. This alternative is frequently mentioned in a wide range of literature and public pronouncements, but is probably unrealistic because of the basic agrarian value structure of the electorate and elected representatives (particularly on state levels) in the United States.

The third and fourth alternatives are somewhat more unique in many respects than the first two, and are oriented to preventing increasing density in our large cities. One referrent for the third alternative is the 1967 proposal by former U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, that migration to rural communities be encouraged. Similar proposals have been made in recent months (early 1970) by current Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin. Such a program could also aid metropolitan central cities by reducing population density and general congestion and would aid the many dying rural communities by bolstering

their population and economic base. If this proposal was adopted, the resulting communities would be vastly different after the migrants moved to them. These communities may actually be termed "new communities", consequently.

The fourth alternative is that of completely new communities. A new community is defined as a self-sufficient population concentration that is originated where no such human settlement was previously found. The physical structures are built and the social environment is based upon the natural and man-made environments that the immigrants adapt to when they move to the new community. Another recent referrent for both the third and fourth alternatives concerns the fact that the Council on Urban Affairs in the Nixon Administration is seriously discussing population redistribution as a means to prevent increases in and to reduce population density. Such population redistribution could involve migration to previously established communities or to new communities; it is unlikely that it would involve redistribution of population within our present metropolitan regions.

The author of this paper considers widespread advocacy of the previously discussed first two alternatives unlikely. The electorate and elected officials in the United States realize that situations and events associated with our metropolitan centers do need correcting, but are unlikely to allocate or authorize allocation of resources essential for total rehabilitation of central cities in metropolitan areas.

With respect to the third and fourth alternatives, it is not known if these proposals would be accepted, and if they were accepted, how successful they would be. These questions will be explored in this paper; i.e., could new community and population redistribution policy achieve public and political approval in the United States? Would people participate in such programs if they were approved and sanctioned?

Basic Assumptions

Prior to consideration of these issues, four basic assumptions must be stated regarding rational thinking about new communities and population redistribution. Forthcoming discussion will point out that privately financed new communities are not economically feasible in the United States; government money, more than likely from our federal government, would therefore be necessary at least for initial financing.

Secondly, we may briefly assess the notion of who would actually move. If well educated, skilled workers moved from the central city, this would strain the economic viability and social mileau of the central city. Central city residents who have received little and poor quality education, are untrained and unskilled, and un- or under-employed. Thus, to help the central city we must move lower socioeconomic families, and also retrain the wage earners for meaningful employment prior to moving them.

The third assumption concerns another population base for migration. It is assumed in this paper that families would participate in population redistribution. The family institution would not be altered appreciably by these proposals, then, but in fact might be strengthened.

The fourth assumption is concerned with the economic and political (particularly economic) institutions and structures in our society. It is the judgement of this author that government subsidized new communities and population redistribution may occur with no basic changes in the economic and political institutions and structures. Moreover, these processes may take place within the normal functioning of our established economic institutional structures.

NEW COMMUNITY AND POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION EXPERIENCES

Past and present experience with new communities shall also be examined. Truly self-sufficient new communities are not numerous in the United States, particularly when we limit our examples to recent (since World War II) developments. The most notable examples are those residential communities that have a federal economic base; military and other governmental installations, when they are initially located in a non-densely settled area, create the need for a new community. Other examples of new communities are found whereby large private employing firms are also located in non-densely settled areas. Several new communities have been originated by private developers with objectives of making a profit, or at least of not losing money. Two notable examples are Reston, Virginia, and Clear Lake City, Texas, and both are notable for not making money. These are upper-middle to upper socioeconomic level communities, also, indicating that it would be economically unwise to plan for lower socioeconomic residents in a privately financed new community.

New, self-sufficient communities are more numerous in other nations of the world. New communities have been built in Brazil, Denmark, England, the Netherlands, Sweden, the Soviet Union, and in other nations since World War II. In these nations, the economic base or employment opportunities, dwelling units, and institutional facilities are established concomitantly, and then the inhabitants move in. These experiments have generally been successful; all are not perfect, of course, but none have failed completely. It must be remembered that economic and political systems in these nations vary considerably from those in the United States. We may, however use democratic nations of Northwest Europe as bases for evaluation. In these countries, industry and other employment opportunities are subsidized by the government to locate in new communities and contracts are let for housing and all other facilities by the government. Workers and their families are more likely to volunteer to move to a new community to improve housing and working conditions, also, in these nations. The author of this paper believes that much can be learned from the new community and population redistribution experiences of these societies. There are more universal norms and values between these societies and ours than dissimilar norms and values. The chief lesson to be learned is that new self-sufficient communities can be successfully in democracies.

In searching for other examples of population redistribution, we have many situations and events within our own society to point to. Members of the military and their families move a great deal, around the nation and around the world. This is actually population redistribution; the family moves or must drop out of the military. Each year, in our society, several million families migrate because the head of household was transferred to another branch office, or subsidary; in this case the family moves or the wage earner does not get promoted or perhaps demoted. Involuntary population distribution is thus a norm in our society with occupation or work providing the stimulus.

ANALYSIS

Public and Political Acceptance

To reiterate, the first basic issue concerns the acceptance of government subsidized new community and population redistribution policy by the electorate and elected representatives in the United States. Population redistribution to new towns and to previously established communities shall be considered together in this section. The prime criteria for this evaluation will be the ideological, value, and normative orientations within our society.

The author of this paper realizes that the issue of acceptance depends upon perceived severity of central city problems, projected benefit of the program, projected benefit of alternative programs, projected negative consequences, and previously discussed details such as who will move where.

A historical review of programs that are generally similar to population redistribution will provide bases for evaluating this topic. During the Great Depression in the United States, general welfare policy was formulated that set guidelines for subsequent national action. Some of these programs are: social security, unemployment compensation, child labor laws, aid to dependent children, aid to the elderly, etc. Since the 1930's we have seen an expansion of social security, and establishment of medicare, minimum wage laws, federal aid to education, and most recently President Nixon has proposed a welfare program that is more comprehensive than any past program. Consequently, if we evaluate new communities population redistribution in terms of past welfare experience, these notions should achieve acceptance.

The concept of government subsidies is also a base for evaluating potential acceptance of new communities and population redistribution. Economic subsidies, paid by the federal government, have been and are currently in force to many activity and industry categories in the United States. Some of the most notable are: agriculture, airlines, petroleum, and railroads. Consequently, if we evaluate new communities and population redistribution in terms of past subsidy experience, these notions should receive, concomitantly, subsidies and acceptance.

The past experience with population redistribution is also a base for evaluating future acceptance of this notion. It was pointed out in previous discussion that millions of families in the United States involuntarily migrate each year, in military situations, because of job transfers, or for other reasons. Based upon this norm of forced migration, population redistribution should gain rapid acceptance.

The positive side of the coin has been examined up to this point; why government subsidized new communities and population redistribution would be approved by the electorate and elected officials in the United States. But, we have to be skeptical on all these points. First of all, although many public programs similar to new communities and population redistribution are part of our way of life, this notion is "different"; i.e., it has not been practiced as such up to now, nor has it even been seriously considered. New ideas, as such, are destined to be opposed.

Secondly, with regard to government financed subsidy programs the money traditionally goes to "established" causes; i.e., there is support for the program in terms of need, pressure groups, or power structures. There is no such "establishment" in existence at the present time to support new communities and population redistribution. High population densities in our central cities and metropolitan areas, although termed as crises, have failed to gain universal commitments. Furthermore, it has been proposed, in this paper, that lower socioeconomic families would be moved to new communities, and this notion, as a subsidy, would certainly be opposed.

Finally, although population redistribution and similar welfare and subsidy programs are accepted in the United States the combined notions of new communities and population redistribution is authoritarian and "big-brotherish". Opposition to the program could certainly be expected on these grounds.

The author of this paper will attempt to evaluate the pluses and minuses, for and against new communities and population redistribution. It is believed that the pluses slightly outweight the minuses, and that these notions will be accepted by the electorate and elected representatives in the United States. This acceptance will not be rapid or unanamous, of course, it will probably take many years and be wrought with skepticism, much like the issue of medicare. Furthermore, a massive program is unlikely; pilot, experimental and demonstration programs are likely to evolve, much like model cities and rural poverty programs.

Public Participation

The second major issue to be analyzed that of participation; i.e., Will people move to new communities as part of population redistribution programs and would the original residents of the areas of destination accept the inmigrants? In this analysis, value and normative orientations and past experience will again be evaluated.

It has been stated in this paper that mobility is a norm in our society; in fact, on an average, about one-fifth of all households in the United States, make a major move each and every year. But our non intra-city mobile population is primarily of the middle and upper-middle socioeconomic levels. These families would be very likely to move to new communities if employment, facilities, and other services were favorable; but this is the precise group that we do not want to move from the central cities. Most families of intermediate socioeconomic levels have already migrated from the metropolitan central cities to the suburbs.

Looking at examples from Europe briefly, most of the inmigrants to European new cities were of upper and lower socioeconomic levels; upper for white collar jobs and lower for the remaining jobs. The upper socioeconomic families were happy to move because of increased prestige and status; the lower socioeconomic families were happy to move because of improved housing and general living conditions. The European new communities consequently have no intermediate levels; in the United States we have just the opposite problem; our mobile (from major moves) communities are essentially intermediate in socioeconomic level.

The author of this paper does envision a problem in encouraging poor families to move from metropolitan central cities. First, such residential areas are frequently provincial communities with respect to social interaction and visiting patterns between relatives and friends. Families are hesitant to leave a community that they are familiar with and in which they are socially secure. Fear of the unknown, particularly among the poor, often prohibits beneficial migration. Second, most families tend to reject the idea of moving to a community smaller than the one they currently inhabit. Metropolitan cities, are, of course, large, but new communities, at the outset at least, would be much smaller in total population. People become accustomed to the institutional, economic, social, and cultural amenties of large cities, and would not be immediately (perhaps never) happy in a community of only 25 or 50 thousand inhabitants.

But it is believed that resistance to migration can be overcome. Provision of vocational training, adult education programs, adequate housing, employment security, and in general, an aesthetically pleasing man-made and physical environment in the new community, will insure that families will migrate.

The situation regarding original residents in areas of inmigration or areas surrounding new communities is not so easily rationalized. Results of considerable research in the United States and Europe universally indicate that original residents do not accept immigrants and immigrants do not accept original residents. Whether it be migrants to new communities or to previously established communities, the original residents consider the migrants as invaders and new residents consider the old timers as iconoclasts who attempt to stifle contemporary life. Research indicates that the majority of residents of cities up to 10,000 population desire to prohibit substantial immigration into the community. This problem is not irreconcilable, either, because adult education programs have been successful in conditioning toward accomodation and cooperation. It is believed that people can be informed of the inevitability of change and how to prepare for it.

To summarize this section, the author of this paper believes that people will choose to migrate to new communities. Furthermore, with appropriate training and preparation, accomodation and cooperation will take place between groups with varying life styles, in the new communities.

IMPLICATIONS

This section is devoted to the role that social scientists can play in proposed new community and population distribution programs. For one reason or another, social scientists have played minor roles in past reform and rehabilitative social and welfare programs. This situation could be different with respect to potential programs designed to lessen population density and other central city problems and prevent future cumulative problematics. Social scientists must take the initiative and design research that will provide information toward clarifying the issues presented in this paper. Research priorities must include the following topics: (1) decision to initiate new communities or build on the presently so-called dying communities, (2) decision dealing with economic bases of the new communities, (3) decision regarding the physical and man made environments of the communities, (4) decisions concerning the institutional, economic, social, and cultural services, (5) decisions concerning housing, (6) decisions concerning who should be encouraged to move, (7) programs to educate and retrain potential migrants, (8) details of the physical moves, (9) programs to educate original residents, (10) programs to insure accomodation and cooperation between groups in communities; etc.

Communication and dissemination of these research results is essential. Other social scientists may then play active roles in the planning of the new communities and population redistribution, and still others may participate in the implementation of the plans into reality.

CONCLUSIONS

It may be concluded from the previous sections of this paper that the prospects for government subsidized new communities in the United States are good (guarded prognosis); not in any massive programs in the near future, but on the basis of pilot, experimental, or demonstration programs. Some form of population redistribution policy is desirable, when contrasted to continued increasing densities in our metropolitan areas and increasing concentration of lower-socioeconomic families in our metropolitan central cities.

Two central issues were discussed in this paper; the first is concerned with acceptance of government subsidized new communities and population redistribution. It is concluded that these notions will gain approval in one sense, because many welfare and subsidy programs have been adopted in our society in recent years. The second issue is concerned with the actual movement of families to new communities, and with harmony between groups (particularly regarding old residents and new residents) in the new communities. It is concluded that if appropriate incentives are provided, families will migrate and if appropriate programs are initiated within the communities, harmony between those of varying life styles will prevail.

Finally, a plea is made for social scientists to become involved in researching the basic issues of new communities and population redistribution, and to aid in planning and implementation of the actual programs.

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNED CHANGE: A STRATEGY

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This report is based upon a study of Union County, Georgia. Union County is a rural county in the Blue Ridge province of the Southern Appalachians. In one of a series of case histories of the community development process broadcast over the Columbia Broadcasting System about 15 years ago, it was described as a "last frontier" which was "still building its first real community"(Mckee, 1955:29). Through road-building, fertilizer programs, rural electrification projects, and similar group activities, a new face was being put upon the county and a new spirit of community harmony was being formed.

Now, some 15 odd years later, many of the plans then proposed have been fulfilled; some have failed. The county has changed significantly in many ways. Nevertheless, it still has many of the characteristics which earned the appellation of frontier. The division of labor is still comparatively simple. The family is still the center of community activity. The social class structure is still relatively uncomplicated, and the degree of occupational specialization is still relatively low. Personal relationships, self-suffiency, and a scarcity of invidious distinctions between "honorable" and "degrading" work still typify the social and cultural organization of the county.

This does not mean that there are no differences between this county in 1970 and the "last frontier" of the 1950's. Homes are a bit more solid; farms are a few less numerous and a considerable bit more prosperous. On occasions for "dressing up," distinctions between the affluent and the struggling, between the successful and the subsisting, do appear. Nevertheless, the county is still comparatively free of many of the little patterns that from day to day help to maintain status distinctions in more industrialized areas.

The social organization is still rather simple. The projected community that was in its initial stages of development 15 years ago has never been fully realized. In fact, the base of the community which was attempting these ambitious programs was shattered, and the tenuous and fragile community known to past generations has vanished. Modern roads, emigration, cheap electric power, soil improvement programs, government land purchases, and other well-known factors have changed many aspects of county life. Improved access to larger communities has deprived many of the smaller centers of their social and economic bases, and they have atrophied. Some areas have been depopulated.

Like many other counties in the Appalachian region, Union County is often thought of as a depressed area. It has been described as an economically, educationally, and socially disadvantaged area. For these reasons and for its own private reasons, an agency interested in Appalachian problems recently sponsored exploratory research in this county and in its adjoining Appalachian neighbor, Towns County-

The research activities were deliberately simple. The two counties were studied by two teams of investigators. Each team consisted of one senior sociologist and one graduate student in sociology. The objectives were to identify the major problems in the area, the constraints on economic innovation, and a preliminary analysis of the potential for viable economic and social development programs. Information was gathered from available published material, from interviews, and by participant observation. In an essentially ethnographic fashion, the entire county was studied, but non-obtrusive measures were emphasized. A fairly complete profile was developed of the county's physical resource base, its social organization, its culture, and its history. The county's potential for economic development was roughly assessed, and a preliminary model of a recommended strategy for change was prepared. Although no specific program of change was begun by the sponsoring agency, the research led to some interesting findings.

Mark Kac(1969) described the main role of models as being no so much to explain and to predict as to polarize thinking and to pose sharp questions. In this case, the questions raised by the findings significantly affected the model of change ultimately prepared. This report is but a condensation of one section of the original survey, and only the most critical determinants and conclusions are included.

Problem-solving must consider, among many others, these two questions:

1. Does the problem, as defined, exist?
2. Will it continue to exist in the future, and if so, will it be in the same form?

It is very easy in developing plans for change to overlook the reality of change itself. The fact that a society is undergoing rapid change means that at least some of the problems caused by past change will be solved by further developments. Attempts to transform a lagging community into a modern one must not err by preparing it for a world which has already gone beyond the level at which objectives were set. Under modern circumstances, perhaps long-term goals should be secondary. Perhaps a "5-year" plan for a community may, when completed, place it twenty years behind. Although it is necessary to prepare for the future, which future to prepare for must be determined. It may be appropriate to prepare for choosing among alternatives as they present themselves. The rapidity of modern change forces us into developing techniques of learning from changing systems. Traditionally, a system remained stable long enough for us to use in it the lessons we learned from it. Now, what we learn often ceases to be applicable soon after we learn it because the system to which it applied no longer exists. Change plans must account for this fact of modern life. They must not be tied to transient goals under the illusion of permanence. Perhaps immediate needs should be satisfied, and long-term objectives should not be allowed to become ideologies justifying short-term injustice. In general, the best plans are ad hoc. They should be designed to meet pressing issues, while attention to secondary aims may be given if resources permit.

Union County was originally chosen as a study area because it was intended to be the target for an action program which would alleviate the assumed poverty of the county. However, first-hand observation of this county presented a picture quite contrary to anticipated stereotypical case of Appalachian poverty. Perhaps the major finding of research in this study was the discovery of an apparent invalidity in this case of certain well-known, often used, indicators of poverty in rural areas. On the basis of these indicators -- a declining population, a high proportion of the labor force employed in agriculture, a predominance of relatively small farms, relatively low levels of educational attainment, a high dependency ratio, --formal income statistics, journalistic reports(Sparks, 1965), and other aggregative indicators of the level of living, one expected to find the residents of Union County to be at or near the bottom of the socioeconomic scale, comparable perhaps to city slum dwellers in their level of living. Instead, striking disparities were found between these expectations and the observations of an overtly prosperous, if not exactly affluent, county. Instead of finding a group of people stagnating in rural poverty and social disorganization, the investigators perceived a county which was growing slowly but steadily. Without asserting that each and every county resident exists at such a level, the evidence(not presented here for lack of space) suggested that in general, Union County inhabitants approach middle-class levels of living far more frequently than they do the life-styles of the poor.

This unanticipated discovery of prosperity(relative to the expected finding of depression) was most welcome from both humanitarian and sociological perspectives. It is far easier to assist a community to move faster than it is to start it moving. Thus, although it is slow, this county's apparent progress is in some ways favorable to development planning. The past history of the county and current observations suggest an almost atypical willingness to change, along with a recognition of the need for outside assistance. Private capital funds are limited, and large amounts of investment capital are unavailable from local sources. Individual activities have cumulatively raised the general level of living in the county, and the development of some local industries has given a significant boost to the general prosperity.

The difficulty now is that many of the older needs -- to have a decent dwelling, to have cash for taxes and amenities for living, and other "catching-up" needs have been satisfied or can be satisfied relatively easily without radical modifications of the present county system. The addition of such industries as the local shoe factory and a small dress factory, while of significant value in satisfying old deprivations, has not created "new" demands. Little has happened that forces major adaptive changes in the social structure or cultural values. The yearning power has not grown with the earning power. This is the crucial lack within the county.

In terms of its external relations, the crucial problem has been that the county is producing nothing that is demanded by the outside world. Its agriculture is marginal, its industry is marginal, its recreational potential is both underdeveloped and unknown. County leaders recognize all this. They are quite conscious of how Union County has come since the end of World War II. They are aware of the need to continue their progress. What is the next best step?

The writer felt at the time of his original report and feels at the present that the best immediate recommendation is for continued research with a motivator content. The county should be hit hard with an impactful, widely ranging pgoram whose major objective is to get facts, whose secondary objective is to create interest and generate questions, and whose long-run purpose would be to make the citizens of the county aware of external trends and needs. The aim of such research, from the perspective of action-orientation, is to set the stage for a redefinition of the community and to increase awareness of the community's possible futures and their probability of occurrence so that a viable reorganization of community resources can occur.

This is not suggested as a stalling tactic nor as an attempt at getting some useful research funds. Research, as a transition goal, is needed in at least two areas:

1. Analysis of social factors
    - A. Community satisfaction and perception of problems
    - B. Basic structures of program organization and communication systems
    - C. Problems of Real Costs of alternatives
    - D. Production and promotion of developmental skills and values
2. Analysis of ecological and economic factors
    - A. Changing land-use patterns and zoning
    - B. Social and economic impact of given plant locations on given areas and populations
    - C. Impact of government loan programs on specific areas and for specific projects
    - D. Impact of specific watershed or resource development projects
    - E. Factors behind industrial location shifts

A properly organized research program woudd serve not only a factfinding mission but should act to (1) educate local officials and leaders and help them to clarify their own plans for the county, and (2) motivate significant members of the county system to follow through after research with specific programs based upon the coupling of the findings with their own plans.

Organizations such as the Institute for Community and Area Development at the University of Georgia, which has perforomed this task for several Georgia communities, are well suited for such tasks. The use of community survey research, supplemented with organized feedback to the target communities, has been understressed as an agency of change. Such techniques should be used as the Canadians used "social animation" in Quebec. The "social animation" agency was

> ". . .a specialized agency made up of multi-specialized animateurs who would be working at three levels: attitudes, understanding of planned development; and specific projects for development. . . These development agents, employing varying styles -- oriented toward groups, and at the same time toward the goals of the agency -- would also have their own public information unit(with radio,television and newspaper sections). The animation and information services were designed to work in complementary ways so that the information process could operate at two levels, in line with the notion of the two-step flow of information, and animation would proceed in parallel with the progress of the BAEQ's(Bureau d'Amenagement de l"Est du Quebec) research teams(Morency, 1968: 4).

A major reason for the recommendation of an "action-oriented" research program was the conclusion that, while the county was ready and eager for change, its potentials are not yet fully understood. Although space prohibits an analysis of the data, the investigators felt that while the people of this county were essentially correct in their perception that their future prosperity would not rest upon expansion of their agricultural base, they were unduly optimistic about the potentials for both industrial and recreational development.

For the foreseeable future, this will be a rural county. Like other such counties, it has certain problems. It is in danger of being a lagging subculture, possessing a lagging economy, and being located in a lagging region. The population of such an area will, because of their rural position, face not only problems deriving from these facts; these problems will be compounded by the county's relative isolation.

Rural life is not representative of modern society. Few students now attending rural schools will live as adults in a rural community. Although rural enclaves will remain, the rural life-style is under growing pressure from the diffusing influence of urbanism. While all students are confronted by a rapidly changing society, the world will simply become more urban for most students. But for students with rural backgrounds, such as those of this county, the urbanized life-style may be a radical transformation. Rural schools do not adequately prepare students for this transformation. Hence, without the skills, attitudes, and access to the opportunities of modern urban life, they are shortchanged of the opportunity to take full advantage of their national heritage. A major question for Union County leaders is whether this system will produce primarily Union Countians, Americans(in the sense of fully developed citizens capable of effective mobility), or hopefully both.

In rural communities, the "revolution of rising expectations" has not had as full an impact as in urban communities. Overt manifestations of protest and desire for social change are more likely to occur in those groups whose expectations have been aroused and then frustrated. Groups which have experienced some progress are more likely to be dissatisfied and to seek further progress than groups whose position has remained low. Change has occurred more swiftly for urban dwellers than for those in rural areas. Therefore, relative deprivation as a motive for change has been less effective in rural areas. In the future, Union County will need to rear its young people in such a manner that they can successfully compete for the better positions in the national, as well as the local, structure, and it should provide a significant number of such positions within its own structure. When students and young people who are able to subsist and prosper anywhere in the country can also subsist and prosper on similar levels in Union County, then the county can be considered developed.

Simple community structures require simple educational structures. Simple educational systems require little of their students and teachers. Those of whom little is asked ask little of themselves. The basic motive for development -- demand -- is missing. There must be effective demand. How can this be established?

One way is by a massive transformation of the educational system. When students are educated beyond their needs, they create a demand that, given certain conditions, will lead to a system in which they can be effectively assimilated. The infusion of large amounts of money, of curriculum transformations, of new personnel, and so on, is a way to produce change. Another way is by a massive transformation of the community itself, especially in its economic aspects. These will affect the educational system and impose new demands upon it. The establishment of new industry, especially of the sort which will require higher levels of performance than is the norm for the area, is a major technique.

It will be very difficult to achieve such transformations through normal economic processes. It might be done, although the probabilies are low that it will, as a product of governmental policies or by industries willing to forego certain important trade advantages.

It is in view of the difficulties and improbabilities of certain forms of intervention, as well as inherent advantages of the suggested approach, that explains the choice of research and survey activity as the most immediately useful stratagem of change.

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Table 1: Change Factors, 1959-1964

1. Reduction of land area of the county in farms from 36.2 per cent to 28.3 per cent
2. Reduction in the number of farms from 861 to 636
3. Reduction of acreage in farms from 73,393 acres to 57,781 acres
4. Reduction in the amount of cropland harvested from 9,785 acres to 6,339 acres
5. Increase in average farm size from 85.9 acres to 90.9 acres
6. Increase in average value per farm from $6,586 to $13,305
7. Increase in average value per farm acre from $77.66 to $148.60
8. Increase in value of farm products sold from an average of $3,881 per farm to $7,577
9. Reduction in the number of part-retirement farmers from 120 to 110
10. Reduction in the number of part-time operators from 310 to 154
11. Reduction in the number of full owners farming from 674 to 505
12. Reduction in the number of part owners farming from 123 to 97
13. Reduction in the number of tenant farmers from 56 to 32
14. Reduction in the number of managers from 8 to 2

Table 2: Total and Per Capita Personal Income in Union County and Georgia, County and State Per Capita Personal Income as Per Cent of United States Average, and Gain over a 2-Year Period*

	Per Capita($)		Per Capita as % of U.S.		Gain
	1962	1964	1962	1964	
Union Co.	$ 674	847	28.5	33.0	4.5
Georgia	1,740	1,943	73.5	75.7	2.2

Georgia Business, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, June, 1966.

CURRENT CONCERN OF FIELDWORKERS IN COMMUNITY RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

William R. Miller*

The purpose of this paper is to examine some points of view discussed by fieldworkers in the evolving profession of community resource development, as perceived in the context of professional educatiors working to develop local community leadership. The "concerns" are intended in the spirit of the Quaker who keeps quiet unless he is willing to work on the needs expressed. This is a discussion report, not research, and contains many points for further discussion by all who are in positions to help make the necessary adjustments.

Four Assumptions:

1. That the multi-county, multi-agency, multi-disciplined approach to the development of resources (human, natural, and man-made) is already adequately accepted and being applied. 1/
2. That the professionalism of community resource development workers will motivate them to work with as much enthusiasm for applying the scientific process to improvements within their own professional community as they expect local communities to show when they have been awakened, enlightened, and enlivened by the professional worker. 2/
3. That the educator/organizer roles of Extension workers in community resource development have been sufficiently stated and justified, to expect full and intentional application thereof. 3/ 4/ 5/ 6/ 7/
4. That community resource development begins with people development, requiring that human development tasks and educational principles, be afforded considerations equal to the economic and engineering principles so easily associated with development projects. 8/

The decade of the 1960's has so frequently been noted for its social revolution characteristics that one of the forces for social evolution could easily go unnoticed by most people. The rapidly expanding profession of community resource development workers created much news for local newspapers in the past decade but has accomplished almost nothing to compete with the riots, demonstrations, encampments and other "more newsworthy" events. Evolution requires more time and patience.

Community Resource Development is described by Bennett as an evolutionary process whereby people in an area or community arrive at group decisions which lead to actions involving the development of the community or area resources -- natural, human, and institutional. 9/

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As indicated in the above assumptions, much has been written which outlines, validates, and encourages the adoption of multi-unit approaches to development. Secretary of Agriculture, Hardin, in Memo # 1667, November 6, 1969, asked all U.S.D.A. agencies to give special attention to Rural Development, with an emphasis on local interpretation of needs. He said, "Most details of the development process should be left to local determination -------- helping people help themselves------(with development being) primarily the responsibility of the local people". 6/

Much also is written on how to involve local citizens in the improvement and development of their communities. Little has been written which offers guidelines for cross-discipline, inter-agency cooperation of the development forces, as applied at the "nitty gritty" level of community resource development. However, Circular #95, from the executive office of the President, is a directive that Federal assistance programs and projects be coordinated. This is a good beginning, since the "developmental tasks" of a growing community involve nearly all professions in the local complex of problems and solutions.

Today there exists such a proliferation of studies, commissions, agencies, programs, and services that local leaders often become completely confused. Professionals who want to cooperate in serving the needs of local communities must spend great amounts of time at the local level, learning to work with other programs. There are times, however, when the local people feel caught in the middle, like the rope in a "tug of war", as their various benefactors strive for recognition and credits which their administrators need for funding reasons.

It is entirely legal and proper that each of the several agencies should have a community development program, so long as none think the rest are intruding in some sort of "private swimming pool". Therefore this paper proposes that the many agencies and organizations involved in the "horizontal plane of cooperation", across lines of discipline - jurisdiction - geography, can help build a better society for all if they work with a common intent toward better understandings of their complementary roles and role relationships. Around fifty organizations for social development can be found in the usual rural community, and a New York study revealed 700 or more in metropolitan counties.

It is apparent to fieldworkers in community resource development that the concerns in this paper need research, summarized in such a way as could be carried directly to lay people and to other disciplines. Such research should also begin to formulate a commonality of knowledge, philosophy, and skills which can be recognized as a discipline of overall development related to human, natural and man-made resources.

To a few people in the established disciplines and positions of authority, the following concerns may seem to be the work of gadflies or malcontents, since it is often easier to appreciate this role among community leaders than among colleagues. George Boas, however, has paid tribute to this kind of contribution to the group process, in his article "The Humanities of Defense." 10/ He tells us that even in primitive cultures anthropologists note the importance of a few individuals functioning as philosophers. The philosopher (or process mechanic) in this sense of the word is the person who sits on the outside of the elite circle at the fire and asks questions. He is "his majesty's loyal opposition," Hans Christian Andersen's child who saw that the emperor was naked; his loyal support is not automatic.

The concerns in this paper only sample the expressions of willingness of professionals to be more professional, of educators to be more concerned with the learner, of cooperators to have a better defined and more flexible base of guidelines for cooperation. They have evolved during follow-up of a discussion at the Fourth National Extension Workshop on Community Resource Development. 11/

CONCERNS

1. COMPLEMENTARY CONFLICTING POINTS OF VIEW ABOUT DEVELOPMENT

Three separate "worlds" are vitally involved in community growth, and local leaders often must wend their way through the other two worlds of available assistance for each development project, before they can secure answers for their specific needs. Although multi-county areas and quasi-governmental development districts may be established for the purpose of bringing all projects into a co-relatedness and system of cooperation, there often remains a confusion of credit-seeking and role jurisdiction. Different points of view tend to create three worlds, or spheres of influence in community resource development.

(A) the world of the educators/organizers who have almost no dollars or jurisdiction to carry out the final acts of development, but who are skilled at helping people help themselves,

(B) the world of dollars and jurisdiction which depends upon the educators/organizers to get local leaders ready to use the jurisdiction and dollars for final action, and

(C) the communities and local leaders who usually know what they want, even though they may not have the situation well enough in hand to reach their goals without some help from worlds (A) and (B).

The elements of difficulty between these three points of view are generally related to communications, role relationships, and differences in expectations between the professionals involved. Each person, each group of persons and each agency may become so engrossed in its own work that it is easy to think "the others aren't working as effectively as we". Add to this situation the fact that new workers and new agencies are continually entering the scene. This phenomenon applies to new members on a committee, new members in a local organization, a new organization in a community, or a new agency assigned to the area. Before the newcomers have time to learn what is already being done or what has already been accomplished, they must usually begin reporting success stories. Local leaders frequently find that they are expected to apply for financial, and technical assistance before they have had time to educate and organize the general public to want a particular project.

The discussion which follows should bear no suggestion of value judgment against either of the three worlds, since each is a viable and honest unit in the field of community resource development. The discussion, however, does intend to show the growing and urgent need for memoranda of agreement between the "educator/organizer" interests and the "dollars/jurisdiction" interests, if we are to best serve the interests of local leaders and communities.

A somewhat different set of organizational qualities or capabilities are prevalent in Area Development Councils and County Development Associations, as compared with the quasi-governmental Development Districts authorized in federal programs. The councils and associations have been clearly a part of the educational/organizational world of activities which awaken, enlighten and enliven local groups to action. The development districts are as clearly related to the jurisdiction/dollars world of influence. It should be equally clear that neither world is able to do an adequate job of total socio-economic development without close cooperation and mutual understandings between them, since the two worlds are closely allied to two different types of disciplines, philosophies and professions.

While the following comparison may help to understand the needs for each type of organization, it should also point out a few reasons why each cannot adequately perform the other function.

Area Development Councils and County Dev. Associations	Development Districts
1. Little if any jurisdiction	1. Specific Jurisdiction
2. "Open ended" membership	2. Certain membership prescribed
3. Educational methods	3. Promotional methods
4. Human-involvement oriented	4. Agency-involvement oriented
5. No dollars to distribute	5. Millions of dollars
6. Officers are volunteers	6. Officers get minor remunerations
7. Staff help is volunteer	7. Staff is hired

A similar set of examples could be drawn to show the differences in points of view between federal and state expectations, state and district, or between community and family. It is not to criticize any, but rather to demonstrate the need for more and more understanding as our problems become more complex.

A comparison of the primary objectives of world "A" with those of world "B" may contribute a little more toward better understandings and cooperation between them. No value judgment of goals is to be implied in the listing, since each objective is equally valid and each professional world attracts workers having equally adequate preparation and dedication. The listing does imply, however, that the two worlds usually employ different processes, methods, and criteria for taking action.

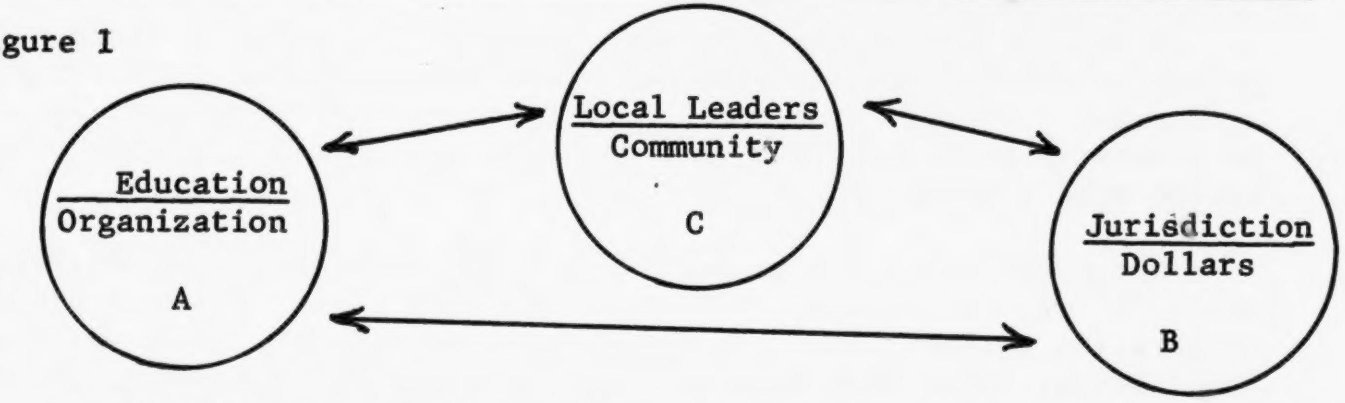
World "A" Educators/Organizers	World "B" Jurisdiction/Dollars
Help local people:	Help local people:
1. Organize to learn	1. Organize to get government aid
2. Use local and outside resources	2. Use government grants
3. Measure opportunities	3. Measure eligibilities
4. Sort alternatives	4. Choose government help
5. Learn to decide and act	5. Learn project writing and criteria

A somewhat different orientation of purposes, priorities and meanings may also be observed in the way the two worlds "A" and "B" work at developing individuals and groups, the economy, creating employment, determining needs, evaluating for further action, cultural enrichment and the social structure.

Who then has the authority to speak for "development"? Local leaders are continually confronted with this question and it has been said that when the chips are down the local people will listen best to those professionals having the dollars and jurisdiction. Is this changing? Are local people takihg second looks before accepting government money? Does this depend upon how well the fieldworkers in the world of educators/organizers have done their work of preparing the local people?

Least Desirable Relationships of Three Worlds for Community Development.

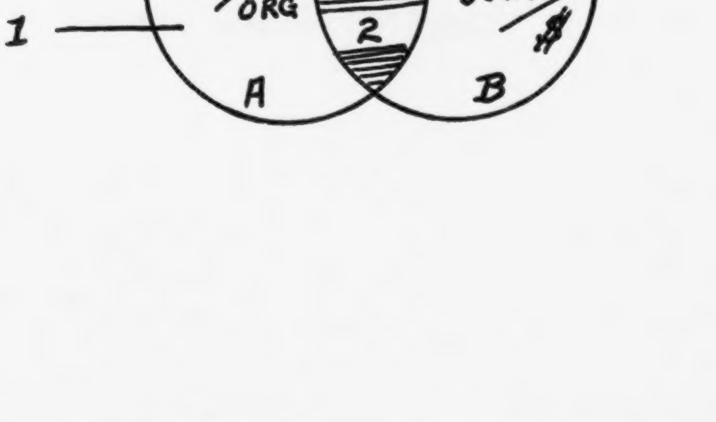
Figure 1



In this diagram there is a fair amount of interrelatedness between A and B, while keeping each other at a safe distance, and often with local leaders as mediators. Of course there are all degrees of contact ranging somewhere between the least desirable relationships and those most desirable for optimum developments.

Most Desirable Relationships of the Three Worlds

Figure 2



In the "most desirable" relationships there are three major areas of programming. (See Figure 2). Area (1) in each of the three worlds involves much action which does not directly involve either of the others. Area (2) can be an area of cooperation or conflict, depending upon how well the initiator of action understands the needs and capabilities of the other. Area (3) is where all three spheres of influence may work out clear cut memoranda of agreement, with well-defined responsibilities for the economic and social development of a community of people.

The most desirable relationships between the three points of view must be achieved through intentional planning toward such cooperation, and exercised in continuous programming which local people can recognize.

2. ROLES and ROLE RELATIONSHIPS of specialists, generalists, administrators and para-professionals.

It has been said that the discipline of community resource development will grow in direct proportion to the capabilities of professional workers to see the complementary aspects of their various disciplines and responsibilities.

The difficulties which may arise among specialists, generalists, para-professionals, and an occasional administrator who wants to retain a specialists role among the workers, usually are concerned with working relations. All too frequently, the professionals who are prepared to provide "educational/organizational" leadership may also want to impress others with their knowledge about dollars available and jurisdiction expected from regulatory or financial aids agencies.

On the other hand, the "dollars/jurisdiction" professionals may try to sell their available projects and programs without the educational/organizational preparation of local leaders and their institutions. Too often the local people hear requests for compliance with preconceived criteria and time limits, when there may be little relevance to the local community's needs or preparations.

In this complicated profession of services to man in his total environment, the specialist is of extreme importance, but the professional generalist is very often pre-requisite to even this need, and frequently functions in both roles. While he applies his art of awakening, enlightening and enlivening local people to the point of needing a specialist, he frequently must serve also as temporary specialist until a specialist can become involved. In fact there are occasions when a generalist, experienced, for example, in the organization of several water districts, may know as much or more about requirements for the district, as a specialist recently appointed to the task. The generalist gets beyond the need for his presence at a meeting, however, when he appears as specialist in the presence of the one hired to serve this function.

A great danger for the generalist, lies therefore in the possibility that he may occasionally preclude or pre-empt a specialist's effectiveness with an audience, before the specialist has had a chance to make his own presentation of services. Since the professional generalist cannot become a specialist in everything of concern to total resource development, it would seem that he should avoid the role of specialist in subject matter other than community development, except in those areas where a specialist is not reasonably available. Concurrent with this direction of thought is a growing indication that the generalist should especially become proficient in the art of helping groups of people become involved in solving their own problems wherever possible. He becomes the enabler of effective process. This would not necessarily prevent the community development fieldworkers from becoming near-specialists in one or two subject matter areas, since it is from such that specialists are created.

Para-professionals are becoming especially helpful in reaching low-income communities, providing a linkage between problems and solutions which most professionals are unable to provide. They may encounter the same temptations as exist between generalists and specialists, while they provide a bridge of understanding between professionals and local clientele. Their enthusiasm for encouraging local participation in community concerns emerges in some surprising and gratifying ways, as they exercise their special qualities of communication in face-to-face situations.

Administrators were mentioned twice in colleague responses to the first rough draft of this paper. One state specialist wrote, "The important support that a community development worker can have from his administration is the freedom to work on (explore) whatever local people are interested in accomplishing, keeping the pre-determined programs of universities and agencies in the background for reference (and action) at the most teachable moment."

It has been suggested that administrators should trust a fieldworker until it is proven that he needs someone to "call the shots." The very nature of community development work is so unpredictable that the fieldworker needs a wide field of experience and operating guidelines. Otherwise he is frequently postponing local initiative while he "touches base" or plays the childhood game of "May I" with his superiors, to see if he should take a giant step, a baby step, or a backward step. Local leaders soon learn where to take their important problems, and may soon lose contact with the fieldworker who becomes overly cautious in his timing or his assistance.

3. SEMANTIC DIFFERENCES AMONG DISCIPLINES

As more and more professionals become involved with leaders in a community it becomes imperative that the professionals present a more unified channel of communications with those leaders.

This evolving discipline of skills, beliefs and methods is alternately called "community resource development", "resource development", "community development", "overall development", and even "comprehensive planning." 9/ Since it is evolving from several already established disciplines, which have already well defined terms, it shouldn't be surprising to find some semantic differences, especially in the use of the key terms "community", "resource", and "development". For example, although "development" may mean progress and growth to some of us, to others it means an accomplished project, and neither is going to fórce the others to change their use of the term.

Some of the parent disciplines in community resource development have been able to operate in comparative autonomy, as long as they operated within their vertical scale of commitments. Today, however, the professional workers in these disciplines know that the complex problems of the society can find satisfactory solution only within a broad horizontal spectrum of interrelated disciplines, organizations and geography.

At the Fourth National Extension Workshop for Community Resource Development, the participants became less concerned with the iron clad definitions of "community", "resource", "development", "democracy", and other words, and developed more concern for conveying and listening for useful meanings. 11/ This places much responsibility upon the listener, as well as upon the speaker, since the listener must hear beyond the words of the speaker for meanings related to his own experiences and needs. It is hardly prudent to ask local leaders to transpose meanings which professionals should have made in their own interrelationships and communications.

A commonality of terms could in some cases help unify our efforts, but at present we may have an even greater need for a commonality of objectives and efforts which would make it easier for local leaders to work with all professionals.

4. STATISTICAL INFORMATION should be published in ways readily available for discussion by multi-county groups.

Statistical information would be more useful to community resource development workers if the figures could be compared in multi-county listings, in addition to alphabetical listings. Such information is often used as a tool for awakening, enlightening, and enlivening community leaders toward action.

For this paper, "statistical information" refers to any information appearing in columns of figures identified with alphabetical listings of counties. Field workers having multi-county responsibilities for community resource development, must now spend many hours sorting through census and research publications for information which comes in alphabetical listings of counties. Some community resource development workers are already competent analysts of soci-economic information and more of them could improve in this competency if they did not first have to spend so many hours finding and re-assembling information.

There is a good reason for having all statistical information compiled by the new mult-county groupings. Neighbors compare progress with neighbors, whether it is the Smiths keeping up with the Jones, Hazard watching Harlan, Bourbon County competing with Scott, or Kentucky hoping to out-distance one of its seven neighbors in something other than basketball, horses, and coal. As an example, the counties of Ballard, Barren, and Bell are always neighbors on lists of information sent by county names. They are each separated by nine counties in a line west to east all the way across southern Kentucky, and have almost nothing in common except Kentucky.

When ~~local~~ people are helped to discover their own perspectives from available data, they will support what they create from the experience, expecially when developed through group decisions. Volunteer leaders have demonstrated many times that when information is shared with them in meaningful ways and in digestible doses they will talk about it among themselves and share it in their communities. There is no doubt that such information becomes more relevant when compared to known constants, their neighbors. Thus the community resource development workers await the day when they can pass on meaningful information which comes to their desks, without having to first reassemble it into digestible doses. With this saving of potential error and of time, the field workers can then spend more time becoming more competent as "applied researchers."

5. TRAINING OF FUTURE COMMUNITY RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT WORKERS will require innovations in inter-disciplinary cooperation.

Several studies have been made or are being conducted on the types of courses to include in a community development curriculum, and a growing number of universities offer a wide variety of curriculum choices for the student.

The concern here is that with course work only, they will be about as well prepared as the medical doctor before internship. It has been suggested that a period of internship be required before a student is even permitted to start a masters degree in community development, since nothing can take the place of experience in this profession.

Since many community resource development workers have already progressed through the ranks of subject matter distributors, there is a tendency for some to still feel more comfortable discussing the details of what happened rather than why it happened. Sound theory should be as much a part of in-service training as is methodology.

6. SOME RESEARCH NEEDS TO BE REDESIGNED, if it is to fit the needs of fieldworkers and local cooperator/leaders.

Although many fieldworkers enjoy being a part of research projects, they are likely to be psychologically and geographically more oriented toward application at the people action level. It is especially frustrating to keep control communities "pure", since the workers know of the many ways which the "control" people communicate through systems other than the initiators of the research project. Thus fieldworkers find more immediate satisfactions in observational studies of benchmarks and of their educational inputs.

Fieldworkers often hear that a particular area or community has been "studied to death", and a few repeat the complaint. Yet when specific information is needed, very frequently the files of studies can't produce it. There seem to be at least three good reasons for the need of each new study, and they are fieldworker oriented.
(1) The persons needing and conducting the survey feel they can learn more by doing a survey than by digging through previous surveys, although they know that the old information can amplify and clarify the new.
(2) The specific details of previous studies often do not include details of a new situation needing study. A new analysis will at best show what now prevails.
(3) The people in the present situation will respond more readily to information about themselves than they will to information which must be translated to fit the present.

Good research, carefully summarized is often useless when technicians in separate disciplines try to compare findings for application in a specific community. Fieldworkers are often told that the two bodies of data are not comparable. Researchers have said they need more attention given to research designs which produce a larger body of comparable information.

The "economic multiplier" effect has been observed and used by economists for years, and a similar phenomenon can be observed in group process. Perhaps it cannot be proven in pure research, but observational research could report findings which would influence how to best involve the poor in decisions which affect their lives.

SUMMARY

"For too many years, too many people have crowded themselves into central cities -- people attracted by the hope and often the illusion of greater opportunity -- a new type of community is needed, which is neither urban nor rural, and possessed with the highest values of both; a functional, multi-county Community of Tommorrow". 12/ These words of the preceding Secretary of Agriculture are being implemented by the present Secretary Hardin, and the President's Council for Rural Affairs. 6/

Community resource development workers have the challenge, the assignment and the know-how to achieve more functionally satisfying non-metropolitan communities, where more people may desire to live and make a living. Circular # A-95, from the Executive Office of the President's Bureau of the Budget should help to develop the corporate will of most agencies in this endeavor, but like community development itself, changes in our professional commitments and practices won't just happen. They must be planned, with a zest and an intent to succeed.

One central thought of this paper is that the evolving professional discipline of community resource development is closely allied with the behavioral sciences, especially as applied to the objectives and behavior patterns of people in community groups. Repeatedly, the author asks that the socializing principles of human development and group process be afforded the same amount of recognition and commitment as is afforded the principles of planning and the more touchable "hardware" considerations of dollars, products, and structures.

Research and training efforts could well be invested in studies of the "multiplier" effects of group participation in the decision'making process. The "economic multiplier" is well understood and discussed, while little is written which describes the satellite and spin-off happenings which accompany group process.

Statistical information is more readily applied to local situations when counties may see themselves in comparison to geographical neighbors, and not have to hunt through alphabetical listings for their information. The computer capabilities are known, the multi-county system of growth is established, and the statisticians agree to the advisability of the multi-county listings.

Another central thought in the concerns of this paper is the search for mutual appreciation and understandings among the disciplines and the workers, as successful community operations depend to ever greater degrees upon horizontal patterns of commitment and action. This results in a multi-disciplined, multi-area relationship which requires also a broader appreciation for the capabilities and feelings of colleagues in the process. After an in-service training meeting, a county agent expressed this need very succinctly when he said, "I wish they could work with me like I have to work with local people to get things done. I wouldn't last a month on the job if I always told people what they ought to do and believe".

Three distinct points of view may be observed as influences in the speed and quality of community developments. They often function as three separate worlds: (A) the educators/organizers who help people find the inner motivations for change, (B) the agencies having dollars/jurisdiction to bring outside stimulations for change, and (C) the world of communities/leaders which must effect the change. These points of view are strongly affected by semantic differences and role relationships between and among the various disciplines and levels of authority.

It is believed that the fieldworkers have the knowledge, the attitudes, the feelings and the skills necessary for acquiring a blend of creative community activity involving all disciplines and levels of authority. It must, however, be planned and legitimized with the same zest and intent exercized by professionals when they help a local community to make changes in structure and behavior patterns.

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The author wishes to thank the several community resource development administrators, specialists, and agents who have added their ideas and concerns to this presentation.

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REGIONAL PLANNING COMMISSIONS: AN APPROACH TO RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

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Most of the states of this Nation have now within their boundaries clearly identified multi-county area planning and development commissions, which, for the purposes of this paper, have been identified as regional commissions. In addition to this comparatively recent and dramatic step in regional development, several states have parts of their jurisdictions which make up interstate regional commissions such as Appalachia. The purpose of this paper, however, is to discuss the multi-county or regional commission particularly as it is operated in Georgia, and especially as it relates to rural communities.

The multi-county area planning and development commission (regional commission) came about as a result of long-time educational efforts on the part of pioneering individuals in both public and private agencies. These pioneers helped to educate community and county leadership to the concept and purposes which such organizations might serve. Basically, the stated purpose of these regional commissions was to provide a mechanism for the total human and natural resource development of the territory making up the commission jurisdiction. The Coosa Valley Area Planning and Development Commission was the first of some 19 commissions which now exist in the State and which encompass all but a few of Georgia's 159 counties. All have operating budgets and professional staffs.

Certain factors such as physiography and central place influence or trade area were important in the delimitation of commission boundaries, but more significant perhaps was the consensus of community leaders as to their desire to work together for common purposes. A pragmatic factor in the formation of nearly all these commissions, however, was the pooling of limited financial resources for the joint use of professional staff which could be utilized to service the needs of the communities and counties making up a particular commission area. From the point of view of this conference, it is significant to note that in nearly all cases representation on the commission is made up of two representatives from each county--one from the leading municipality or municipalities in each county and one from the county or rural areas. This rather simple formula has appeared to work very well, even in some commission areas which contain cities which are classified as metropolitan.

The regional commissions in Georgia, with the exception of the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission, are mainly rural in character, some still having a relatively high proportion of their population deriving their living directly from the land and also having a large proportion of their population living thereon. The subject matter with which regional commissions are concerned is quite varied and includes the broad range of economic development, tourism, local planning assistance, law enforcement planning, comprehensive health planning, development of balanced transportation systems, etc.

Regardless of the wide variety of topical matters dealt with by the regional commissions and their staffs, there appear to be certain functions which have been clearly defined as the regional commissions attempt to meet their common goal of total natural and human resource development. These functions may be identified as follows:

1. Goal formulation and opportunity identification
2. Fact finding and research
3. Project development .
4. Program coordination
5. Public information and education
6. Technical assistance and advice
7. Citizen participation and leadership development
8. Interagency liaison

In carrying out their work programs, the commissions and their staffs rely not only on their own talents and resources but frequently call on state and federal agencies, the university system, private consultants and others who frequently provide technical and financial assistance.

Three or four of Georgia's regional commissions have no clearly dominant trade centers which furnish a central trade and business focus for the entire area. In such cases, the regional commission serves to build a regional identity and image for its constituent communities in a way which would not be otherwise possible. In other areas, the presence of a clearly dominant central place such as a metropolitan central city helps to give a clear focus upon the large urban place and the counties which surround it.

The State of Georgia has indeed been a pioneer in the "grass-roots" development of regional commissions, as it was through the actions of local governments in essentially rural counties and the small municipalities serving them which made possible the organization of the area planning and development commission. One hardly needs to stress that the leadership in these communities was aware of shrinking tax base, loss of population, a shifting economic base and numerous other factors which suggested it was reasonable that they should indeed work together for their common cause.

The regional commission in Georgia has had a comparatively successful history and appears to provide a continuing mechanism for assisting in growth, development and adjustment. One of the biggest long-range challenges facing the regional commission in Georgia is the evolution of a regional planning and developmental framework within which local growth and adjustment can occur in a meaningful way and with reference to the larger picture. Related to this, of course, is the degree to which commissions should vest their efforts in local problems as against broader regional interests.

There has been a clear tendency on the part of several of the regional commissions in Georgia to offer governmental services. Were these services not available on this basis, most of the rural areas of the state would not have them. Such services include assistance to local governments in traffic engineering, local planning, economic development, water and sewer planning, housing, etc.

Institutionalization has helped to set patterns and precedents but at the same time could create a situation in which a commission and its staff becomes socially isolated from the communities of their region. A force tending to institutionalize the regional commission has been the designation of several of them as economic development districts and as the planning and programming bodies for other types of federal programs such as area-wide comprehensive health planning and law enforcement. So far, there have been very few drop-out counties, but every regional commission in Georgia has had the problem of communicating with local leadership and implementing some plans and programs. This appears to be in part the lack of understanding of the social structure and processes within their member communities. Ways in which this inadequacy can be alleviated include (1) more social science training for professional staff, (2) hiring social scientists as part of the professional staff and (3) use of social scientists from institutions of higher education.

To illustrate the approach of using university-based social scientists let us refer to recent experience in a rural Georgia county.

A regional area planning and development commission cooperated with the University of Georgia's Institute of Community and Area Development and its Department of Sociology and Anthropology. The Northeast Georgia Area Planning and Development Commission provided for the entry for a Community Social Analysis by a sociology class in Community Reconnaissance Methods. This was a survey of a cross-section of local leaders to assess attitudes, aspirations or felt needs, evaluation of services, organizational structure and leadership patterns. The survey lead to an eight-night Title I seminar series on community needs and problems. This University-conducted seminar, which was open to all citizens, lead, on the final evening, to the setting of five short-range and five long-range goals.

The goals set, such as the organization of a city-county planning commission, a study of local county government, and the establishment of a state park, became working goals not only for the local community but also goals for the area planning commission.

After eight months of action, with the aid of the area planning commission staff and University staff, the local implementation committee called for an evaluation meeting. At this meeting it was reported that 20 percent of the goals had been met, 60 percent were well underway, and 20 percent were untouched.

Since the area planning commission had conducted a survey of the county government which was one of the goals of the first seminar, it was decided at the evaluation meeting to make plans for a second annual citizens' seminar on improving their county government.

Illustrated here is a working arrangement whereby the University of Georgia stimulated a community with a social analysis and an educational program. The area planning and development commission staff then provided detailed technical studies and local assistance in follow-up.

In conclusion, we see the structure and functioning of these regional commissions as a new and emerging social system which deserves the research interest of rural sociologists. Some of the problem areas which we think should receive the attention of the researcher are:

1. The institutionalization of a new form of social system.
2. Channels of communication between the regional commission and the local communities.
3. Establishment and maintenance of the regional commission image.
4. Regional decision-making and its relationship to local community decision-making (regional leadership patterns).
5. The evolvement of new regional functions.

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